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NEW SERIES—Vol II

GLASGOW
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GLASGOW ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

No. I.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON HISTORIES OF INVENTIONS AND BOOKS OF SECRETS.

PART VI.—CONCLUSION.*

BY

JOHN FERGUSON, LL.D., F.S.A.,

PROFESSOR OF CHEMISTRY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on January 19th, 1888.*]

Several editions of Neri's *Art of Glass* have been already quoted.† Next to the original Italian of 1612, one of the rarest can now be adduced, the first edition, namely, of the English translation:

> The Art of Glass, Wherein Are shown the wayes to make and colour Glass, Pastes, Enamels, Lakes, and other Curiosities. Written in Italian by Antonio Neri, and Translated into English, with some Observations on the Author. Whereunto is added an account of the Glass Drops, made by the Royal Society, meeting at Gresham College.
>
> London, Printed by A. W. for Octavian Pulleyn, at the Sign of the Rose in St. Paul's Church-yard. MDCLXII.

---

* For convenience of reference I have called this Part VI., although, strictly speaking, it is the second half of Part V., published in the preceding volume. Both parts were communicated to the Society at the same meeting, but the completed paper was of such a length that it was found necessary to print it in two sections. The present part contains the books subsequent to 1602.

† *Trans. Archæol. Soc. Glasgow*, 1883, II. pp. 194, 251; (N.S.), 1886, I. p. 225.

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This is a small 8vo, and, like the original Italian, the translation has no illustrations like what exist in the later Latin versions. The translator was Christopher Merrett, whose name does not appear on the title page, but whose initials are appended both to the dedication to the Hon. Robert Boyle, and to the address to the reader.

This is not only a rare but it is an instructive book as well, as it gives the reader insight into how the sciences in the seventeenth century depended on the use of glass. There is no concealment or mystery in the description. Merrett's notes are very interesting; for he goes through the whole of contemporary physical science, and points out the many uses of glass, and its importance for optics, astronomy, physic, and other branches.

The account of the practical part, of the furnaces, pots, materials and reagents, of the methods for making different qualities and colours of glass, is very well done. Although glass-making was one of the most jealous of mysteries, and was one of the few mechanical arts in which a gentleman by birth could engage, there is no attempt at making trade secrets of the processes, as might have been anticipated. On the contrary, the descriptions are so clear and exact, that one can see that far more was known practically in the seventeenth century than one is inclined usually to believe, judging from the way in which most other books on science and the arts are expressed.

I happen to have got also a copy for description of the French translation.

Art de la Verrerie, De Neri, Merret et Kunckel. Auquel on a ajouté le Sol Sine Veste d' Orschall; L'Helioscopium videndi sine veste solem Chymicum; Le Sol Non Sine Veste; Le Chapitre XI. du Flora Saturnizans de Henckel, Sur la Vitrification des Végétaux; Un Mémoire sur la maniere de faire le Saffre; Le Secret des vraies Porcelaines de la Chine & de Saxe. Ouvrages ou l'on trouvera la maniere de faire le Verre & le Crystal, d'y porter des Couleurs, d'imiter les Pierres Prétieuses, de préparer & colorer les Emaux, de faire la Potasse, de Peindre sur le Verre, de préparer des Vernis, de composer des Couvertes pour les Fayances & Poteries, d'extraire la Couleur Pourpre de l'Or, de contrefaire les Rubis, de faire le Saffre, de faire & peindre les Porcelaines, &c. Traduits de l'Allemand, par M.D * * *.

A Paris, Chez Durand, . . . M.DCC.LII.

Avec Approbation et Privilege du Roi.

This is a bulky quarto, sumptuously printed, with handsome engravings of

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furnaces and apparatus, and it is undoubtedly the most complete of all the editions which I have seen. It contains not only the treatise of Neri, with the prefaces and notes of Merrett and of Kunckel (Geissler's version the editor does not seem to know), but also some treatises and extracts from other works bearing upon the manufacture of glass, enamel and porcelain, and, besides, the tracts on the controversy about the part gold takes in making ruby glass, written by Orschal, Balduin and Kunckel. It forms, therefore, a kind of cyclopædia of the older writings on glass-making.

In marked contrast to Neri's book, as far as clearness and sense are concerned, is the singular performance which follows.

Trinvm Magicvm, Siue Secretorvm Magicorvm Opvs: Continens

1. De Magia Naturali, Artificiosa & Superstitiosa Disquisitiones axiomaticas.
2. Theatrum Naturæ, præter Curam Magneticam & veterum Sophorum Sigilla & Imagines Magicas, etiam Conclusiones Physicas, Elementales, Cœlestes & Infernales exhibens.
3. Oracula Zoroastris, & Mysteria Mysticæ philosophiæ, Hebræorum, Chaldæorum, Ægyptiorum, Arabum, Persarum, Græcorum, Orphicorum, Pythagoricorum & Latinorum.

Accressere Nonnulla Secreta Secretorum & Mirabilia Mundi.
Editum à Cæsare Longino, Philos.
Francofvrti, Ex Officina Typographica Antonij Hummii. M.DC.XVI.

This is a little 24°, and is made up of several treatises and extracts. There is an edition of 1614* also in the British Museum [1035. a. 5 (3)] not differing in its contents from the present, and there is a later enlarged one of 1663, from which Freytag took his description. There can be no doubt about this being a collection of secrets. There is, first of all, a preface containing an explanation of the different kinds of magic, defending it against the accusation of being diabolic, and praising it for its religious character. The preface is followed by the contents, and then the tracts in order.

The first deals with divination, and witches, and magic, both natural and black—quite black, and it is ascribed to Marco Antonio Zimara, whose name will occur again in connection with the *Antrum magico-medicum*. No portion of this tract is contained in the first part of that work, though it may be reproduced, of course, in the second part, which I have not as yet seen.

* Francofvrti, Typis Wolffgangi Richteri, impensis Antonij Hummij. M.DC.XIV. 24°, pp. [24] 635.

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Then comes a long extract from the second book of Baptista Porta's *Magia Naturalis*, consisting of a miscellany of curious secrets.

The second chief tract in the volume is another reprint of the *Liber Aggregationis*, by Albertus Magnus, of the virtues of plants, minerals, and animals, including the *De Mirabilibus Mundi* as usual. The demand for this book, as has been already observed,* was extraordinary, and is one of the wonders of literary history.

The third tract is entitled *Commentatio De Magnetica Curatione vulnerum, citra superstitionem, dolorem, & remedii applicationem. Authore R.G. M.D.* This is a reprint of a work which was published in 1609, and was afterwards printed in the *Theatrum Sympatheticum* at Nüremberg in 1662. It is one of the earliest tracts on the weapon-salve, and the author R.G. is Rudolphus Goclenius.

He was the son of the logician and philosopher of the same name, and was born at Wittenberg, August 22, 1572. His studies were pursued at Marburg, and after taking his degree, he went to Italy and Denmark. In 1608 he was appointed Professor of Physics at Marburg, of Medicine in 1611, of Mathematics in 1613. He was a laborious teacher, a diligent author, a voluminous writer, and a man of great acquirements, but with a leaning towards the secret sciences, alchemy, magic, divination, chiromancy, and so on. His doctor's thesis dealt with Paracelsus' methods in medicine, and the inaugural address which he delivered in 1608 on his receiving the chair was devoted to a defence of the weapon-salve. The following year he published an enlarged and corrected edition which was what was printed afterwards in the *Trinum Magicum* as well as in the *Theatrum Sympatheticum*. This is certainly one of his most notable productions. It landed him, however, in a controversy with a Jesuit, Roberti, who, quite as superstitious, credulous, and irrational in a different direction, had, on the whole, the best of it. But Goclenius stuck manfully by his doctrine and wrote replies to Roberti, though with no effective result. Nature had already passed sentence against the salve. At a later period the debate was revived and gave rise to a considerable amount of literature, some of which will fall to be considered under Digby, a little further on. Other works by Goclenius were on augury, astrology, chiro-

* *Trans. Archæol. Soc. Glasgow*, (N.S.), 1890, II. p. 432.

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mancy, and some were on medical topics. He died on the 3rd of March, 1621.*

The last tract in the *Trinum Magicum* professes to give the oracles of Zoroaster and the mystical philosophy of all the nations of antiquity. It does so—in aphorisms.

Freytag's† account of the book is notable in several details. In the first place the edition, which he describes, is dated 1663, and he does not seem to have known that there were editions fifty years before it. Then he confesses that he has failed to discover anything whatever about Cæsar Longinus, but thinks that it is a pseudonym. According to the editor of the *Kiranides*, a book of secrets which is referred to below, Cæsar Longinus was no other than Goclenius himself.‡ Next, with regard to the initials R.G., Freytag makes the following remark: *Libelli superstitiosi auctorem, aliis investigandum relinquimus.* This is very singular. It is almost impossible to believe that Freytag did not know that R.G. was Rudolphus Goclenius. On the other hand, if he knew who R.G. was, what was to prevent him stating the fact of the authorship? Is it an understood thing among his countrymen that Goclenius' name should never be mentioned?

The only difference between the early and late editions lies in the existence of a concluding tract which is not contained in the early editions, with the

* A very good account of Goclenius was contributed by Külb, to Ersch & Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyklopädie*, Leipzig, 1860, I. lxxi. pp. 365-67. But Germany has since got ashamed of him, for his name is omitted altogether from the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Leipzig, 1879, vol. ix., although an extravagant amount of space is allotted to his father, Rudolphus Goclenius, the elder, who, even as a third rate philosopher, was in no respect superior to his son. Very different is the treatment by Desgenettes in the *Biographie Universelle*, Paris, 1857, xvii. pp. 6-7. There the son receives chief consideration, and the father is alluded to in a short paragraph at the end of the article, simply to prevent mistakes being made about the authorship of certain works. I do not know how the new German biographical dictionary can claim to be *allgemeine* when it deliberately omits such a man as Rudolph Göckel, the younger. That Germany has produced some cultivators of the occult sciences is a fact which may be deplored but cannot be forgotten.

† *Adparatvs Litterarivs*, Lipsiae, 1755, iii. pp. 153—156.

‡ *Kirani Kiranides*, 1638, Præfatio Isagogica Editoris, f. 3 *verso:* "Prout in Trino Magico pag. 231 legere est, ubi opusculum illud Alberti maximè barbarum & nostrô magis ineptiens Cæsar Longinus Philos. Vel potius ipsemet Rodolphus Goclenius, Medicinæ & Artium Doctor Celeberrimus Francofurti M.DC.XVI. publicare non est veritus."

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corresponding entry in the title page. It is inscribed *de proprii cuiusque nati Daemonis inquisitione*, and Freytag loses his temper over it, and is at a loss to say whether the author was a superstitious fool, or a blasphemous knave, but seems to think that the author, by his own confession, felt conscious of being the latter. I do not know who the author was, but obviously the 1663 edition is one to possess.

Under the name of Marco Antonio Zimara, which has occurred in the preceding article, a book of secrets appeared at Franckfurt in 1625. Zimara* was born at San Pietro in Galatina, in the kingdom Naples, about 1460. He went to the University of Padua, where he graduated in 1507, and was appointed to a Chair of Philosophy. During the wars he returned to his native place, and, in 1522, he was sent by his countrymen to defend their rights before the King of Naples against the claims of Ferdinand Castriotto, who had obtained the lordship of Galatina. His abilities kept him at Naples where he taught theology. In 1525 he went back to Padua, and was reinstated in his Chair of Philosophy. He died there in 1532. He delivered lectures upon Aristotle and Averroes, and he commented, and subdivided, and vocabularized, and indexed, and dilucidated, until at the end of three years, the students, even of Padua, tired of him.† He was the author of a big work on Averroes, which was published at Venice in 1565, and of some others, besides the book of Secrets ascribed to him.

Its long title is as follows:

> Marci Antonii Zimaræ, Philosophi, Antrvm Magico-Medicvm. In quo Arcanorvm Magico-Physicorvm, Sigillorum, Signaturarum & Imaginum Magicarum, secundum Dei nomina & Constellationes astrorum, cum Signatura Planetarum constitutarum, vt & Curationum Magneticarum & Characteristicarum ad omnes corporis humani affectus curandos: Thesavrvs Locvpletissimvs, nouus, reconditus. Cui Medicamenta Etiam Varia Chymica ex Mineralibus & Vegitabilibus conficiendi modus: Tractatvs item de rebus, quæ humano corpori eximiam & venustam formam inducunt; De variis etiam Metallorum & Minerarum præparationibus, & experimentis plurimis, quorum consideratio candidioris & Philosophici ingenii est, Tractatio subiungitur. Accessit Motus perpetui

* Weiss, in *Biographie Universelle*, Paris, no date, xlv. p. 524, gives a sketch of his life and works.

† *Averroès et l'Averroisme*, 2e Ed. Paris, 1861, p. 373, sqq. Renan's account here of Zimara is florid and lively, and, I suppose, is also accurate.

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Mechanici absque vllo aquæ, vel ponderis adminiculo conficiendi documentum. Cum Elencho Capitum, Remediorumq3 quæ Antro hoc Magico continentur.
Francofvrti, Typis Ioannis Friderici Weisii, M.DC.XXV.

In the year following, 1626, appeared the second part of the *Antrum* which, I regret to say, I have been unable to examine. Its title, however, which is given by a number of authorities, may be quoted to complete the account of the book.

Antri Magico-medici Pars II. in qua arcana naturæ, Sympathiæ & Antipathiæ rerum, in plantis &c. omniumque corporis humani morborum, in primis Podagræ, Hydropes, pestis, Epidemiæ, & Cancri exulcerati cura hermetica, specifica, characteristica, & medica continentur. Accesserunt portæ intelligentiarum & Canones hermetici de spiritu, anima, & corpore maioris & minoris mundi.
Francofurti, 1626. in 8.

Of the first part of this book there is a translation into German. It also has a very lengthy contents-title, as it may be called:

Marci Antonii Zimaræ Magische Artzney-Kunst, Darinnen enthalten Ein gantz neuer überaus reicher Schatz verschiedener Magisch-Naturgemässer Geheimnisse, insonderheit aber von Sigillen: allerhand verborgenen Signaturen und Bildnussen: wie auch von allerley Magnetisch-und Characterischen Hülffs-Mitteln, Krafft derer alle und jede Gebrechen des Menschlichen Leibs zu curiren und zu heilen seynd. Darzu kommt über dieses noch

I. Eine deutliche Handleitung, unterschiedliche rare Chymische Artzney-Mittel aus den Mineralien und Erdgewächsen zu präpariren.

II. Ein besonders Trãctatlein, handlend von vielen schönen Schmincken, Anstrichen und dergleichen Sachen, dardurch sich ein Mensch eine saubere, zarte, glatte unde schõne Haut machen kan.

III. Eine Anweisung, die Metallen und Mineralien zu bereiten.

Alles mit gewissen Proben und Experimenten, wie es einem rechtschaffenen Philosopho zusteht, ausgezieret. Samt einer besondern Handkunst Ein Perpetuum Mobile oder sich immer bewegendes Ding, ohne Beyhülff des Wassers, oder Gewichts, zu machen. Auf vielfältiges Begehren aus dem lateinischen in das Teutsche übersetzet. Deme noch beygefüget, ein nützliches Tractãtlein, wie der Mensch sich vor allen ansteckenden Kranckheiten durch seinen eignen Speichel präserviren kan.
Franckfurt, In Verlegung Joh. Ziegers, Buchhändlers, 1685.

This is an 8° volume, and, besides the printed title, it has an engraved title in three compartments. In one is represented a patient in bed taking a cup from a physician; in the second, a magician within a circle, is engaged in

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conjurations; and, in the third, there is a man on his knees pouring water, apparently, from a jar upon the root of a tree.

I have not observed any translation of the second part into German.

What reason there is for crediting Zimara with this book I have not discovered. It was printed long after his death and after the works acknowledged to be his. There is nothing in the book itself pointing to him especially as the author, and if one may judge by the similarity of its contents to those of the general run of contemporary medical receipt books, I should be inclined to consider it altogether, or at any rate in large measure supposititious; ascribed by its author to Zimara to give the book a character, but neither more nor less than a compilation of the seventeenth century, though it may have a basis in some work of Zimara's which I have not seen,* or in an earlier edition.

From the author's address to the reader, one would infer him to have been alive when the volume was publishing and not to have flourished one hundred years anterior to it. For in it he speaks of "our most ornate printer, Weissius" making up his mind to bring out an edition in a handier size, with more elegant type, free from the faults which swarmed in the former edition, and enlarged with a bundle of the most excellent and most absolutely recondite secrets and experiments anywhere to be had. Surely Zimara, among all his secrets, had not that of long life or of rejuvenescence to enable him to write of "our book," as the author of the preface calls it, ninety-three years after he was reported dead?

Further, a number of the authorities quoted in the book were not known in 1532 when Zimara died. For while there are extracts from Albertus Magnus, Geber, Lully, all prior to Zimara, and from Paracelsus, his contemporary, there are also others from Levinus Lemnius whose book was not published till 1559, from Jacques Houlier or Hollerius, and from Baptista Porta, who all flourished subsequently to him. Even supposing, therefore, that part of

* Freytag (*Adparatvs Litterarivs*, Lipsiae, 1755, III. p. 134) quotes an edition of Aristotle's *Problemata*, Paris, Hieronymus de Marnef, 1558, 12°, ff. 141, which contains also the *Problemata* of Zimara. But from Freytag's account it does not seem to have anything to do with the *Antrum*. There is a French translation, Lyons, 1587, 12°. Another work by Zimara is in folio: *Quæstio de movente et moto*, Venice, 1505. His *Tabula et dilucidationes in dicta Aristotelis et Averrois* was published in folio at Venice, in 1565.

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the book be taken from some work by Zimara, it is impossible that it, as a whole, could have been produced prior to the year 1532; a later hand must have been busy with this edition, and I have little doubt that its true date is a century later, that is, 1625.

Another proof of this, I think, is the publication of the work in two parts, in successive years. If it were printed from a work of Zimara's either in MS., or already in print, why was it not all printed at once? To this question an answer might be had if one could see the second part, for in all probability, it contains a preface which would throw some light on the history of the work. This, I may be able to get on a future occasion. In the meantime I suppose the compiler had not got the second part ready to print till 1626.

There is one matter about which a word of explanation by Zimara, or Goclenius, or the author of the *Antrum*, would have been welcome. In Goclenius' tract on the weapon-salve (*Trinum Magicum*, 1616, pp. 385-441, *Theatrum Sympatheticum*, Norimb. 1662, pp. 197-215) there occurs a section devoted to the signs and sigils of Hermes, Raphael, Chael, Solomon, etc. This is contained in full in the *Antrum magico-medicum*, 1625, pp. 175-210. Did Goclenius, in 1609, borrow this passage from a work by Zimara, or did the author of the *Antrum* plunder Goclenius and carry off the property to his Magic Cave? He admits as much in his preface. If the former, Goclenius must have had, after all, an earlier edition of the *Antrum* to refer to. If the latter, then the whole of that work cannot be by Zimara.

What was this earlier edition of the *Antrum*, described as running over with errors, which Goclenius may have consulted? No such book is mentioned in any catalogue or bibliography, and one would feel inclined to believe it a pure invention of the author, to give his book some degree of standing, and that it was just in keeping with the ascription of it to Zimara. But it may be as well to admit that there is a difficulty. Kestner,* who believes that the *Antrum* is spurious, quotes Arcudi's *Galatina letterata* for an edition of 1575-76, in 8°. If Arcudi be correct, it would still require to be shewn that Zimara was the author; and it would require to be proved that the edition of 1625-6 is a reprint of it. These are topics about which, in the absence of facts, discussion is useless. There is besides the prior question:

* *Medicinisches Gelehrten-Lexicon*, Jena, 1740, p. 934.

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is Arcudi correct? I have at present no means of investigating these problems. The edition of 1625-26 is the only one referred to by all (except Renan) who speaks of Zimara, as by Brucker,* Mercklin,† Vogt,‡ and Freytag,§ and its rarity is remarked on by these authorities.

A student of natural history and an author of marked importance was Johannes Jonstonus.‖ He was born in 1603 at Sambter near Lissa in Poland, of Scotch parents of distinguished descent. He began his academical career at Ostorag, Beuthen, and Thorn; in 1622 he visited England and Scotland, and continued his studies at St. Andrews till 1625, when he returned to Poland. In 1628 he started on a visit to various Universities, including Franckfurt, Leipzig, Berlin, Franeker, Leyden, where he studied anatomy and botany, London, and Cambridge, where he continued the same pursuits. After some time he went back to his native country, and undertaking the charge of two youths, again went on a tour through Europe. This lasted from 1632, the year of his first published work, to 1636, and they travelled together through England, France, Holland, and Italy. On this journey he received the degree of M.D. at Leyden, September 15, 1632. Some years

* *Historia Critica Philosophiae*, Lipsiae, 1766, iv. p. 205, note z. Brucker speaks scoffingly of the work, but does not indicate any scepticism as to its authenticity, as I think he ought to have done. He says: "Fuit is [Zimara] Medicus et philosophus magni nominis, qui veso Aristotelis physiologiam ad magiam more seculi XVI transtulit, Cujus testis esse potest Antrum eius magico-medicum, liber rarissimus, in quo, vt habet titulus. . . " and then he quotes the title. Of the second part he says: "Eiusdem quoque furfuris pars altera est, in qua "Arcana naturæ. . . " and after giving the title he concludes: "ex hoc vngue cognosce leonem."

† *Lindenius renovatus*, Norimbergæ, 1689, p. 775.

‡ *Catalogvs . . . Librorvm Rariorvm*, Hamburgi, 1747, p. 735.

§ *Adparatvs Litterarivs*, Lipsiæ, 1755, III. p. 154.

‖ There are numerous articles about Jonston in the biographical dictionaries. The following will afford fuller information about him: Moréri, *Dictionnaire Historique*, Paris, 1759, VI. p. 370. Niceron, *Mémoires*, Paris, 1740, XLI. pp. 269-276. Külb and Theile in Ersch and Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyklopädie*, Leipzig, 1844, II. xxiii. pp. 7-8. Cuvier in *Biographie Universelle*, Paris, no date, XXI. pp. 147-48. Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, Leipzig, 1750, II. col. 1962-3. Jöcher confuses him with another John Jonston, Professor of Theology at St. Andrews, author of a chronology of the Kings of Scotland, dedicated to King James VI. Kestner, *Medicinisches Gelehrten-Lexicon*, Jena, 1740, p. 432. Mercklin, *Lindenius Renovatus*, Norimbergæ, 1686, p. 620. Hallam, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, London, 1854, III. p. 208.

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later he had the offer of two professorships of medicine, but he would not exchange the complete liberty of private study and research for the duties of a public office. Instead whereof, he went to Silesia, and settled on his estate, called Ziebendorf, near Liegnitz; where he resided till his death which occurred on June 8, 1675.

Jonston wrote treatistes on medicine, history, literature, and other topics, but he is best known by his works on natural history, trees and plants, animals and minerals. I include him on account of his first published work, which happened to be on the marvels of nature.

> An History of the Wonderful Things of Nature: Set forth in Ten severall Classes . . . . written by Johannes Jonstonus. And now Rendred into English By A Person of Quality.
>
> London, Printed by John Streater, living in Well-Yard near the Hospitall of St. Bartholomew's the Lesse, and are to be sold by the Booksellers of London, 1657.

This work was composed in 1630, when he was in London, and was published at Amsterdam in 1632,* under the title: *Thaumatographia Naturalis, in Classes decem divisa*, and several editions followed. The English translation, in a small folio volume, was made by John Rowland; and as it was not mentioned by any authority till quite recently, it is presumably of considerable rarity.†

The ten heads under which Jonston arranges his material are these: I. The Wonders of the Heavens; II. of the Elements; III. of Meteors; IV. of Minerals; V. of Plants; VI. of Birds; VII. of Four-footed Beasts; VIII. of Insects, and things wanting blood; IX. of Fishes; X. of Man.

This is a collection of natural wonders of all kinds, and it displays the author's erudition if it does no more. There is nothing from his own experience, but he has ransacked ancient and modern literature, for whatever marvels they could furnish. One cannot but be impressed by the different conception of natural science in the 17th century as is shown in this and similar compilations so often referred to already, from that which is entertained now. The older naturalist collected chiefly the exceptional things of

*Mercklin, *Lindenius Renovatus*, Norimbergæ, 1686, p. 620.

†It has been omitted by Lowndes, Hallam, Allibone, and even Watt, but I find that Hazlitt has quoted it, *Second Series of Bibliographical Collections and Notes*, London 1882, p. 321.

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nature (the more wonderful the better for his purpose), which he found on record, without question; or, if he questioned, without attempting to substantiate his opinion by a personal observation or experiment. The ordinary phenomena were passed by as of no importance, or as too familiar to deserve notice or to require explanation.

Though Jonston's merit, therefore, was that of a laborious compiler, as indeed were most of his contemporaries who wrote on natural history, and though he was unable to criticize, or prove thoroughly the statements of the writers whom he systematized, his books, as Cuvier says, can still be read with no small amount of pleasure; and they were the main authorities down to the time of Linnæus.

The career of Jonston resembles very closely that of Paschius, and some others who have been quoted. In wide academical training, in the travels, in their extraordinary erudition and enclyclopædic acquirements, in their literary activity and productiveness, there is a sort of family resemblance. Jonston, however, kept himself closely to natural history, zoology, and botany, while Paschius made a specialty of theology and philosophy. And now their very names are forgotten.

A book of genuine receipts was drawn up by a certain John Bate:

> The Mysteryes of Natvre, and Art: conteined in foure severall Tretises; the first of water workes the second of Fyer workes, the third of Drawing, Colouring, Painting, and Engrauing, The fourth of divers Experiments, as wel serviceable as delightful: partly collected, and partly of the Authors Peculiar Practice, and Invention by J. B.
>
> Imprinted at London for Ralph Mab and are to be sold by Iohn Iackson and Francis Church at the Kings armes in Cheapside 1634.

This is a small 4°. The general title-page is entirely engraved, and in a series of compartments are representations of the different works of art described in the text. There are also separate titles to the last three treatises. From the irregularities both in the signatures and pagination of this book, it is a little difficult to know when it is complete. The copy I have seen has the separate title-leaf, then signatures A to Q (wanting H 1, title to Part II.), q, R to T 3, Aa to Ff 3, all in fours. T 4 and Ff 4, wanting, are probably blank. There is a separate leaf with an illustration interpolated between C 3 and C 4. The pagination begins on B, and runs continuously to P 4 verso, p. 112, and

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omitting Q and q, is resumed on R 1, p. 121, to T 3 verso, p. 142. Aa 1, the title of book IV. is not paged, but the verso of Aa 2 is numbered 150, which involves a blank of 4 pages between T 3 and Aa 1. The pagination after this goes on regularly to the end, p. 192.

There is a copy in the British Museum,* but I have not examined it.

The contents of this volume are quite sensible and practical. In the first part, under "Water Works," are included syphons, pumps, water clocks, and various fanciful tricks effected by the flow and pressure of water. "Fire Works," in the second part, are equivalent to modern pyrotechny, and it is quite surprising to see how some devices still in use were familiar to Bate. The third part is upon drawing and painting; and the fourth, entitled the "Booke of Extravagants," contains miscellaneous receipts and secrets, technical and medical.

A second edition of this book, "with many additions to every part," appeared during the following year, 1635, of which there is an imperfect copy in the British Museum.† It is of the second edition that the following collation is given by Lowndes,‡ which may be quoted, as according to it there are differences in the two issues.

> Title, with engraved border; to the reader, a leaf, then complimentary verses and work A—Qq. in fours. Prefixed is a portrait (scarce) of the author, by G. Gifford, at p. 61 is a separate woodcut representing the horses at work to the engine for a Tyde-water, and at p. 65 another marked D, representing the wheel of an engine.

To judge by the signatures, this book must be a good deal larger than the other. The separate cuts also seem to be added, as well as the portrait. The suggestive word "scarce" signifies that the "Grangerites" plunder the portraits, and then cast the mutilated copies adrift.

There were other editions in 1638 and 1654, according to Lowndes. That of 1638 is nowhere described, but Hazlitt quotes the edition of 1654.§

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* C. 27. h. 5.

† 1044. i. 1. I have not examined it.

‡ *Bibliographer's Manual*, ed. Bohn, London, 1865, I. p. 128.

§ *Collections and Notes*, London, 1876, p. 30.

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The Mysteries of Nature and Art. In four severall Parts. . . . By John Bate. The third Edition with many Additions. Printed for Andrew Crooke, 1654. 4°, B—Hh 2 in fours, and the title-page. The last 3 leaves are occupied by the publisher's advertisements. With a profusion of engravings.

If this be the third edition, can there have been one in 1638?

Of all the books of secrets, however, which I know of, there is no one more extraordinary than that entitled *Kirani Kiranides*. It was privately printed in Germany in 1638, and from the very first it has excited curiosity, and from its rarity has been hunted down by the lovers of out of the way books. This book is quite unknown in this country, and I am not aware that any description of it is extant in English. There are copies of the Latin and the translation in the British Museum. The following is a sketch of both. The Latin opens with a title:

Moderante Auxilio Redemptoris Supremi, Kirani Kiranides, Et ad eas Rhyakini Koronides. Qvorum ille In Qvaternario tàm Librorum, qvàm Elementari, è totidem Lingvis, Primò de Gemmis XXIV. Herbis XXIV. Avibus XXIV. constituendum agit; Inde Libro II. de Animalibus XL. Lib. III. de Avibus XLIV. sigillatim, & Lib. IV. de LXXIV. Piscibus iterùm, Eorumq3 viribus medicamentosis: Hic verò studio pariter qvadrifido Ms. post semi-millenarium annorum ex inemendatissimo primùm edidit, 2. Notis interspersis subjunctisq3 illustravit, 3. Præfatione Isagogicâ ornavit, & 4. deniq3 Indicibus auxit.

Following this title is the preface of the editor in which he describes how he came to undertake the publishing of the work, and discusses the meaning of Kiranus and other obscure matters relating to the book itself. All this occupies 16 pages. Then there is another title-page:

Liber Phyisco-Medicus Kiranidvm Kirani, *i.e.* Regis Persarum, Verè aureus gemmeusq3; Post io ferè annos nunc primùm è membranis Latinè editus cum Notis. Qvi multis adhuc seculis antè Syriacè, Arabicè & Græcè scriptus & versus extitit: Cùm autem reliqvæ translationes interciderint, Hæc semibarbara non omninò sepelienda, nec ita totum opusculum obliterandum fuit. De qvo qvid sentiendum sit, reqviratur in C. Barthii Advers. & Lexico Harpocrationis.

Æra C. cIo Ioc xxxviii.

On the reverse of this title is a dedication. The work then begins with a preface by the old translator which contains an account of the book and the meaning of the name; after which the description of the secret virtues of beasts, birds, fishes, plants, and gems begins on p. 8, and ends on p. 104. Six pages of notes follow, and thereafter the last part about birds and fishes

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pp. 111—159. Then there are more notes, and the book concludes with alphabetical indices of the Greek names and a Latin index of diseases and other affections, in all 23 pages. The book is a small 8°, printed in very inferior style on very inferior paper. Its attractions lie in its extraordinary contents, in its great rarity and in the difficulties connected with its history.

There appears to have been a second edition of this book. Morhof, in his account,* speaks of a Latin MS. given by Eleonora, Landgravine of Hesse, to Heinrich Ellenberger, which came into the hands of Rivinus who published it at Leipzig in 1637, an error, I suppose, for 1638. Then he adds: this edition I have not seen, but another published at Frankfurt in 1681, 12mo. which, according to the title, was the second edition. He follows this up with the contradictory remark: "Nulla illic prioris editionis mentio, quæ vel ignoratur, vel dissimulatur." Except in this passage I have not seen any allusion to the later edition.

It is not a little remarkable that this book was translated into English, for, as a rule, books of the kind have never been in vogue in this country. The translator has concealed his name, but in a preface, partly original, partly translated, he has given a sketch of the book in which he tells about Ellenberger's MS., says that the Latin was privately printed and distributed, and that after diligent search and some difficulty he procured a copy, and translated it. Even at that time therefore, in 1685, fifty years after its publication, it had become a scarce and much coveted book. If it were so scarce then, it has become much scarcer in the course of two hundred years more.

The following is the title of the translations:

> The Magick of Kirani King of Persia, and of Harpocration; Containing the Magical and Medical Vertues of Stones, Herbs, Fishes, Beasts and Birds. A Work much sought for by the Learned, but seen by few; said to have been in the Vatican Library in Rome; but not to be found there, nor in all the Famous Libraries of the Empire. Now Published and Translated into English from a Copy found in a private Hand.
>
> Printed in the Year MDCLXXXV.

The place and printer's name are not given. It is a small 8°, and contains Title and Preface, pp. [16]; Epistle, pp. [8]; Text, pp. 156; Indexes, pp. [14]. This book is nearly as rare as the original Latin.

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* *Polyhistor*, Lubecae, 1714, I. chap. XI. p. 98.

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As has just been remarked, there are few books surrounded with greater obscurity than this one. The meaning of the name of the work; the date of its composition; the name of the reputed author; his nationality; the original language of the treatise, Greek, Arabic, Syriac, Persian; the existence and authenticity of the alleged Greek manuscripts; whether these manuscripts represent the original work; the Latin translator; whether the Latin translation was really made from the Greek, or other language, or whether it is a recent compilation; the Latin edition of 1638, whether it represents the original work, or merely the Latin compilation, if so be, these are different; the editor of this edition, Andreas Rivinus, or some one else; the value to be attached to his introduction, describing how the book came to be printed; the place where and the person by whom the edition was printed; in short, there is hardly a point connected with the work which is not in doubt; which is not, at all events, open to discussion. The very existence of the English translation has been hesitatingly admitted, because it was only known from a catalogue: "*Catalogus Bibliothecæ Harleianæ*, Tom. II. pag. 810: Catalogue, auquel on ne doit se fier qu' à bonnes enseignes." It would take too much space here to attempt to answer all the questions that arise, and to give the reasons for preferring the view of one writer to that of another, it will suffice to refer to a minute investigation of the subject published by Prosper Marchand.* Even he, however, did not come to any definite conclusion, but left open for further enquiry the main question: Does the edition of 1638, however much it may be "une mauvaise Rhapsodie de superstitions, aussi ridicules qu' impies," in any way represent the supposed original treatise of Kiranus? He is unable to say.

Reinesius, who discussed the book with Rivinus, felt it almost a personal insult when under the title of *Kirani Kiranides* he got a volume of absurdities, instead of the work of so much renown. There is no evidence as to what Reinesius was entitled to expect, or whether he did well to be angry; but supposing he had got the genuine work, was he sure that its contents would have been any more gratifying? Reinesius must have proceeded on the assumption that the 1638 edition, after he saw it, was spurious. But that is

**Dictionaire Historique*, La Haye, 1759, Tome II. pp. 1-8.

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just a point on which no discussion or opinion has any bearing, until the matter of fact is ascertained. If there are Greek or other MSS. existing which can be proved genuine, then let it be ascertained by comparison whether the Latin edition agrees with them. That seems to be the only way of arriving at a conclusion.

For the present, however, I must confine my remarks to the book itself, leaving these questions of its history and authenticity and consideration of its contents for another occasion.*

Out of the unvisited recesses of English literature there emergeth ever and anon an unknown book of receipts, which may startle us no less by its title than by its contents. The following is a volume which is quite new to me, and which is omitted by the bibliographers. The title is worth reproducing in full:

> Natura Exenterata: Or Nature Unbowelled By the moſt Exquiſite Anatomizers of Her. Wherein are contained, Her choiceſt Secrets digeſted into Receipts, fitted for the Cure of all ſorts of Infirmities, whether Internal or External, Acute or Chronical, that are Incident to the Body of Man. Collected and preſerved by ſeveral Perſons of Quality and great experience in the Art of Medicine, whoſe names are prefixed to the Book. Containing in the whole, One thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty. Very neceſſary for ſuch as regard their Owne Health, or that of their friends. *Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter.* VVhereunto are annexed Many Rare, hitherto un-imparted Inventions, for Gentlemen, Ladies and others, in the Recreations of their different Imployments. With an exact Alphabetical Table referring to the ſeveral Diſeaſes, and the proper Cures.
>
> London, Printed for, and are to be ſold by H. Twiford at his ſhop in Vine Court Middle Temple, G. Bedell at the Middel Temple Gate Fleet ſtreet, and N. Ekins at the Gun neer the West-end of S. Pauls Church, 1655.

This is a small, closely-printed 8vo, and it is made up almost entirely of receipts in medicine and surgery. These have been collected from many sources, a list of all the people who have contributed information being given. One salve, good for bruises and wounds, called Gratia Dei, was revealed (it is said) unto King Alexander by an Angel. Many of the receipts are fanciful or superstitious; substances, chiefly plants and their extracts, were employed, the virtues of which were, of course, really unknown, and some of the substances have happily dropped out of use. To many of the

*[Fuller details were communicated subsequently to the British Archæological Association at the meeting in Glasgow, September 4, 1888.]

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receipts is appended the magic word "Probatum," as in Lupton's, Mizaldus', and other collections. At the end are a few technical receipts.

The belief that the preservation of receipts by Persons of Quality conferred some additional virtue on them when healing had to be done is worth notice, as it indicates an attitude with regard to the practice of medicine which has been entirely altered by medicine having become somewhat scientific, or at least having to depend more upon the sciences for its progress.

Parallel with the chemical secrets published at London, in 1683,* Hartman edited another series by Sir Kenelm Digby:

> Choice and Experimented Receipts in Physick and Chirurgery. As also Cordial and Distilled Waters and Spirits, Perfumes, and other Curiosities. Collected by the Honourable and truly Learned Sir Kenelm Digby Kt. Chancellour to her Majesty the Queen Mother. Translated out of several Languages by G. H.
>
> London, Printed for the Author, 1668.

This is a small 8vo volume, and has a portrait of the author engraved by Cross. I have seen another copy of it which has the following clause inserted after the word "Author:" "and are to be sold by H. Brome at the Star in Litte-Britain (*sic*), 1668." There does not seem to have been any portrait in this copy.

The volume deals mainly with receipts and prescriptions for different common ailments, but incidentally there is a little practical chemistry in the preparation of the compounds employed. Among them the product of the destructive distillation of tobacco, which was used for the cure of ulcers, and which even by external application caused sickness, is described.

In 1675, "the second edition corrected and amended" was printed at London, "by Andrew Clark, for Henry Brome, at the Gun at the West-End of St. Pauls."

Under Digby's name there appeared certain books of secrets in French and German, but they are not translations of this collection of Hartman's, although they contain a good many of his "choice receipts." The French version was made by Jean Malbec de Tresfel, the royal privilege for seven years is dated 1668, but I do not know if the book first came out then. The copies I have seen are of a later time, The oldest of them is printed along

* *Trans. Archæol. Soc. Glasgow*, 1883, II. p. 261.

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with Digby's discourse on the powder of sympathy. It has no separate title-page, but is headed *Remedes Experimentez en Medicine et Chirurgie* and appended are the secrets about cosmetics—*pour la Conservation de la beauté des Dames.* It forms a small 12° volume, and it was printed at Utrecht, for Rudolphe van Zyll, in 1681.

A second copy is the following:

Remedes Souverains Et Secrets Experimentez De Monsieur le Chevalier Digby, Chancelier de la Reine d' Angleterre. Avec plusieurs autres Secrets & parfums curieux pour la conservation de la beauté des Dames.

A Paris, Chez Guillaume Cavelier, au quatriéme Pillier de la grande Salle du Palais, au Palmier. M.DC.LXXXIV. Avec Privilege Dv Roy.

A third copy is in two volumes:

Nouveaux Secrets Expérimentez, pour conserver La Beauté Des Dames, et pour guérir plusieurs sortes de Maladies: Tirez des Mémoires de M. le Chevalier Digby, Chancelier de la Reine d'Angleterre. Avec son Discours touchant la guérison des Playes, par la Poudre de Sympathie. . . . Sixiéme edition, revûë, corrigée & augmentée d' un Volume.

A La Haye, Chez Etienne Foulque, Marchand Libraire, dans le Poote. M.DCC.

The first volume is a reprint of the preceding; the second volume contains Digby's discourse on the powder of sympathy, and a number of other secrets partly chemical, partly medical, drawn from various sources, but whether or not gathered by Digby originally, I do not know. The secrets for preserving female beauty, which give the book its title, occupy only eight pages at the end of the first volume.

The German translation appeared under the title *Medicina Experimentalis Digbæana, das ist: Auszerlesene und bewährte Artzney-Mittel.* The translator's name is not given, but it is probably M. H. Hupka, the name of the person who translated the discourse on the powder of sympathy, mentioned below. The preface is dated Franckfurt, 1670, about which year the first edition was published. In 1672, at the same place, appeared the only edition of the book which I have seen, and which is stated to have been newly revised and enlarged with several approved experiments. The translation contains the bulk of the receipts given in the French version, but the arrangement is somewhat different, and there are a few alterations.

Digby was the author of a wine and cookery book also, entitled *The Closet Opened,* the third edition of which was printed at London in 1677. As it is

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by Digby, and as it has a title similar to that of other books already mentioned, it may be allowed a place in the present notes. There is a portrait of Digby prefixed; it is a copy of that by Cross, but besides being of inferior execution, it alters his expression, and is lacking in dignity.

In the course of these *Notes* reference more than once has been made unavoidably to books about sympathy and antipathy,* but considering the amount of attention which it attracted it is perhaps necessary to take some notice, however brief, of the discourse on the powder of sympathy, one of the most famous of Digby's productions. It was, moreover, the revelation of a thorough-paced secret, a revelation, the course of which Digby traces in a very interesting way, and the necessity for which he deplores, though he finds himself unable to avoid it. But though the subject falls generally under the category of a medical or surgical secret, it is itself so very special, the discussions about it are so technical, the literature is so extensive and branches out so widely, departing from the main theme of the present notes, that if anything is to be said about it at all it will be more convenient to deal with it in a special supplement, in which not Digby's discourse alone but other works on the subject as well can be considered in detail. Digby's discourse was not the first on the subject by any means. The controversy between Goclenius and Roberti has already been referred to. Another controversy arose about Digby's time between Papin and Cattier, and a third was carried on with the usual amicable interchange of insults between Parson Foster and no less notable a man than Robert Fludd. It was all in the air therefore, and Digby was too susceptible a person to avoid catching the infection. So far as I can ascertain, the Discourse was first delivered in French to "a solemne assembly" at Montpellier, "by way of Oration, and taken in short writing upon the place as 'twas uttered." The privilege is dated December 21st, 1657, the printing was finished February 15th, 1658, and the book was published at Paris. It was translated into English by R. White, and the edition printed at London in 1658 for R. Lowndes, "at the White Lion and T. Davies at the Bible in S. Pauls Church-Yard, over against the little North Door," is called the second, and is corrected and augmented. This would seem to imply that

* Among these are the work by Mizaldus on the Harmony of things; Irvine's *Medicina Magnetica;* Goclenius on the Weapon-salve, and others.

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there was an earlier first edition, but I have not met with a copy of it, nor have I seen a reference to it. I am disposed to think that the French edition may have been reckoned the first, and that the English version was viewed as the second. In 1660 another edition was called for, it was styled the third, and the fourth appeared in 1664.

The French version was repeatedly printed; it is included in the editions printed at Utrecht in 1681 and at the Hague in 1700, and there are others which I have not had the opportunity of examining.

It was translated into German by M. H. Hupka, with the title:

> Eröffnung unterschiedlicher Heimlichkeiten der Natur, . . und vornemlich von einem wunderbaren Geheimnüsz in Heilungen der Wunden, ohne Berührung, vermög desz Vitrioli, Durch die Sympathiam, Discurszweise gehalten in einer Hochansehnlichen Versamlung zu Montpelier in Franckreich, Durch den Hochwolgebornen Herrn Grafen, Herrn Kenelm Digby, . . .

The first edition, I believe, appeared in 1658, that is, immediately after the French was published. Of the second edition I do not know the date, but the third was printed at Franckfurt in 1664, the fourth in 1668, and the fifth in 1700. Lowndes' account of this book of Digby's is very imperfect, whereas Watt runs to the other extreme, and quotes editions, such as that of 1644 in folio, the existence of which is not only not vouched for, but is impossible. The consideration of these matters, however, must be left over for more minute inquiry than can be bestowed on it at present.*

Reference was made before to a little book of technical receipts called: *Art's Treasury of Rarities: and Curious Inventions*, published at London by G. Conyers.† There was another book covering pretty much the same ground, also published by him, having this title:

> Art's Master-Piece: Or, a Companion for the Ingenious of either Sex. In Two Parts. . . . To which are added many curiosities and rare Secrets, known to few, and highly Profitable and Pleasant. The Third Edition. With Additions by C. K.
>
> London, Printed for G. Conyers at the Golden Ring, and J. Sprint at the Blue Bell, both in Little-Britain. Price One Shilling.

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* [A paper on the subject was afterwards read to the Society on March 15, 1888, under the title: *Bibliographical Notes on the Magnetic Cure of Wounds, the Weapon Salve, the Powder of Sympathy and Sympathetic Cures.*]

† *Trans. Archæol. Soc. Glasgow*, 1883, II. p. 196.

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This, like *Art's Treasury* and Conyer's edition of Lupton's *Thousand Notable Things*, is a shabby little 12mo, printed on coarse paper in as cheap a style as possible, and decorated with a poor woodcut frontispiece of an artist at work on a portrait. A serious blemish in these books, which has been already noticed, is the absence of a date, but judging from appearances, I presume they were printed towards the close of the seventeenth or during the early years of the eighteenth century.

It contains painting in oil, gilding, japanning, varnishing; dyeing and staining of ivory, bone, hair, leather, wool, silk, linen; removing of spots and stains; perfuming; medical and surgical receipts; inks; making of glass, enamel, artificial gems; painting on glass; gilding on metals; taking casts in wax, plaster, metals; and numerous other secrets.

At the end of *Art's Master-Piece* is a catalogue of books published by Conyers. They all profess to be of the same practical kind, such as: *A Treatise of Japanning and Varnishing*, by Mr. George Parker, price 8*s.*; *The Whole Art of Dying*, translated from the German, price 3*s.* 6*d.*; *A Rich Cabinet of Modern Curiosities*,* by John White, price 1*s.*; *Arts Treasury*, second edition, price 1*s.*, the edition mentioned above being the fifth; *The Art and Mystery of Wine-Coopers*, a discourse delivered to the Royal Society in Gresham College, price 6*d.*; *The Young Sportsman's Instructor*, by G. M.; *The Compleat Bee-Master*, by G. Worlidge, price 6*d.*; *The Anglers Sure Guide*, by R. H., price 2*s.* 6*d.*; *The Compleat Fisher*, by J. S., price 6*d.*† I have not seen any of these, but they are worth quoting as illustrations of the practical books of two centuries ago, and for the sake of comparison with similar books on the same subjects now, like those of the *Badminton Library*, *British Manufacturing Industries*, Weale's Series, and others.

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* Lupton's book is also called *A Rich Cabinet of Select Curiosities and Rarities* in Conyers' edition of it (*Trans. Archæol. Soc. Glasgow* (N.S.), 1888, I. p. 313).

† According to Pickering's *Bibliotheca Piscatoria*, London, 1836, R. H. was Robert Howlett, and the date of the book is 1706. The same authority quotes five editions of *The Compleat Fisher*, by J. S., the earliest dated 1696, and the fifth 1725. See, however, a fuller account in T. Westwood and T. Satchell's *Bibliotheca Piscatoria*, London, 1883, p. 110, for "R. H.," and p. 181 for "J. S."

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An amplification of *Art's Treasury of Rarities*, just mentioned, appeared in 1735, and in the socialistic comprehensiveness of its title it forms an appropriate sequel and parallel to the *Ingenious Gentlewoman and Servant-Maids Delightfull Companion*, formerly described.* The title is as follows:

The Gentleman's Companion: or, Tradesman's Delight. Containing, The Mystery of Dying in all its Branches. The Manner of preparing Colours. The Method of cleaning and taking out Stains from Silks, . . . The Art of Drawing, . . . Likewise the Quality of Natural and Artificial Metals. . . . The Great Mr Boyle's Method of Writing in such a Manner as cannot be discovered without the Help of Fire, Water, *&c.* . . . . To which is added, The Method of curing and preserving all Sorts of Wines . . .

London: Printed for J. Stone, at Bedford-Row, near Gray's-Inn; . . . 1735.
(Price 2s. 6d.)

This is a small 12mo volume of 257 pages, besides a table of contents, The Book is divided into three parts, of which part I. and two or three chapters of part II. are reprinted from *Art's Treasury*. The remainder of part II. and the whole of part III. are added. Part III. contains cookery and physick receipts, at the end of which is "the Vermin-Killer," taken in large measure from Cornelius Agrippa, it is said.

This book is not in Lowndes' or in Watt's bibliography, but I have encountered two copies within a few days of each other. It is difficult to say, therefore, whether it is rare or common, but I imagine that, if they knew it these compilers did not think it worth mention. Like most books of its class, it has little practical interest for to-day, but, when taken along with the others, it helps in tracing the history of the arts, as well as illustrating the older literature.

It has happened unintentionally—by familarity rather than neglect—that two works, which, in virtue of their date and merits, should have been mentioned much earlier, have been overlooked until now. A few words may be added about them.

If there is one book more than another which ought to have been included at first among those that contain "secrets," it is surely that by Cornelius

* *Trans. Archaol. Soc. Glasgow*, (N.S.), 1888, I. p. 321.

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Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia*, which actually does deal with the most recondite secrets of creation; with sympathy and antipathy; the elements; nature and man; soul and spirit; the hidden power of letters and numbers; in short, with all the wonderful lore of magic.

It was composed by Agrippa in 1510, when he was aged 24, but it was not printed till 1531. In that year the first book only came out at Antwerp; the printing was stopped, and the whole work in three books was not published till 1533. It then passed through several editions, and was translated into English, and published in 1651. A spurious fourth book appeared in 1565, and this also was published in English in 1655 and 1665. All these books have become very rare, and they possess now a good deal of bibliographical value. Thus there are two, if not more, issues dated 1533; uniform in style and size, but differing essentially in details of printing.

The second work is also by Cornelius Agrippa, and is his still more famous: *De incertitudine et vanitate Scietiarum et Artium Declamatio Invectiva*, and this, in its turn, can claim and ought to have had a place among the histories. For, acknowledging that it is a criticism, a wholesale and destructive criticism, of all the arts and sciences, it is unwittingly, but unavoidably, a historical essay. Agrippa could not well display and illustrate the emptiness and instability of art and man's device, without at the same time tracing their evolution and progress.

The history of this book is even more remarkable. It was first published in a small quarto volume at Antwerp in 1530 (the year before the Occult Philosophy), a volume of such rarity that just 150 years ago its very existence was denied. It at once attracted attention; it was so racy, so full of knowledge and hard knocks; it voiced so boldly what other people were only thinking about, that it was reprinted a dozen times in a year or two, and for a full century it was one of the most widely circulated books in European literature. It passed through a multitude of editions; it was translated into Dutch, English, French, German, and Italian, and there were several editions of these. The earliest editions are the best and most complete. Later on the book was deprived of much of its interest by having the telling passages ruthlessly excised, so that it was reduced to a colourless discourse on the vanity of human pursuits, without point or practical bearing.

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It would take too much space to enter upon the bibliography of this work at present. It was very carefully examined by Clément* last century, and a fresh investigation, full of information, has been recently published by Anguste Prost.† But admirable as is the care these writers have taken with it, there are certain matters which they have missed, just in consequence of what everyone who has meddled with the subject has experienced, the difficulty, namely—it might almost be said the impossibility—of getting copies of all the earliest editions. Some of these details have confronted me in connection with certain undescribed editions, but consideration of them must be postponed in the meantime. ‡

Nor with the literary merits of the Declamation is it the function of the present paper to deal. It must not be forgotten, however, that it was the last great work of the author's life, not an academical or literary flourish, but an expression of his disappointment and dissatisfaction with all his acquirements and learning and experience. For a man who had run through the whole round of knowledge, and had led a busy, restless, adventurous life, to announce, in so many words, that *ignorance is bliss*, was to startle his contemporaries out of their self-complacency. And even after the lapse of three centuries it is not devoid of some applicability, and it survives as one of the few books of its time that can be read with interest and with profit. Perhaps it is because it deals with the essence rather than with the accidents of human endeavour.

Agrippa, however, was not the only one who discoursed anew upon the old text of the Preacher. Before Agrippa's book appeared, a certain Italian, Perisaulus Faustinus by name, wrote and published a Latin poem, *De Triumpho Stultitiae.* It too reiterates the same doctrine that man, from cradle to grave, is given over wholly to vanity. The author's own labours afford perhaps as good proof as any of the truth of his thesis. They have all been thrown away, for the little volume which he penned on vanity can hardly be got. It is

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* *Bibliotheque Curieuse*, Göttingen, 1750, I. pp. 81-93.

† *Corneille Agrippa Sa Vie et ses Œuvres*, Paris, 1881-82. T. II. Notes xxix. and xxxiv.

‡ [The subject was discussed at length in a paper read subsequently to the Society of Antiquaries, London, April 19th, 1888, entitled: "Bibliographical Notes on the early editions of the *De Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum* and the *De Occulta Philosophia* of Cornelius Agrippa."]

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now extremely rare and only some eight or nine copies are upon record. The descriptions given of these exhibit divergencies which cannot be explained or reconciled without a comparison of several copies. This, however, is most difficult of accomplishment for the copies known are widely scattered and some of them have disappeared from public view altogether. So we must be content to know that in 1524 Faustinus asked:

> Nonne vides? si tecum habitas, ni desipis, esse
> Omne hominis vanum studium, vanosque labores?

Then, a hundred and fifty years after Agrippa, appeared the *Reflections on Learning* by Thomas Baker, the antiquarian, the laborious and conscientious scholar, the non-juror, the *socius ejectus* and historian of St. John's College, Cambridge, who not only repeated the old cry, but went a stage further and asserted practically that Agrippa's demonstration was as vain as the arts themselves, and was calculated only for schoolboys, evidently a depth of worthlessness below which it was impossible to sink. Poor Agrippa! how the irony of fate seems to have pursued him. The work which was wrung out of him by the bitterness of his life reckoned a mere rhetorical exercise, and a very second-rate performance even as that. Agrippa's own presage of what his critics *would* say was very true; but he never expected having schoolboys hurled at him, at least he does not specify them. Not even Catilinet, the Dominican, had such a battery to unmask and discharge.

But Baker took a less comprehensive view of the arts than Agrippa did, and his book is narrow in its range. For him the only arts were those called polite or liberal: the arts taught by Gregorius Reisch; the history of which was written by Zacharius Lilius; the symbols of which were used by Grafton for his device in Polydore Vergil's history. Of physical science he has no knowledge, and he was too wrapt up in the questions of the hour, political and ecclesiastical, and his own interest in them, to have foreseen its destiny, even had it been pointed out to him: that as the exponent of a material universe with human beings, as material objects in it, it would come to denominate the rest of knowledge. For him the study of material things was not learning or philosophy, but mechanic art. He did not realise what an amount of imagination, insight, knowledge, reflection, experience, contrivance, manipulative dexterity, is required even for the despised mechanic arts,

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He did not consider what skill and thought were expended in making the paper, and the ink, and the type, and the printing press, and in getting all these to work together properly, before the book by Thomas Baker could be produced which was to teach and preach the worthlessness of the polite arts.

After all, however, Baker helped on general progress in a way he did not anticipate. The proof of the insufficiency of mere learning and philosophy was one of the means of impelling dissatisfied minds to look for more fruitful subjects of study; subjects which, while supplying endless problems for the exercise of all the mental faculties, alone issue in practical results which affect the existence and well-being of mankind. But that was not in Baker's intention: it was rather to limit research by setting up in its place a creed which he believed in wholly as incontrovertible and final. If such a creed could be, it would soon become stagnant and dead, and then from it new forms must issue. So it turned out. Enquiry cannot be stopped by a creed. Physical science has grown immensely, and old beliefs have had also to alter.

It requires an effort to view the arts and learning as Baker saw them, and to comprehend what was to be gained by depreciating them. Religious belief was not elevated by lowering the value of the truth which had been brought to light by generations of workers in every department. Arts and learning were not perfect then; they are not perfect now. It is the certainty of coming a little nearer perfection, which is the whole and sole stimulus to work at them. Baker's attitude is not merely weak and indefensible, and inferior to that of Wotton and Temple, whom he takes to task for their commendation of learning, but it is self-destructive. It is unnecessary, however, to say that the lapse of time has so entirely changed the position of the arts and sciences, that it is almost impossible to discuss the propositions which Baker lays down, and the proof is that the *Reflections on Learning*, once a popular work, containing much learning and illustration, is now absolutely and irrevocably forgotten. Agrippa's book, however, still lives, both for its own sake and for the matter it contains. But then it is the work of an undoubted genius, whereas the other is but a temporary piece of erudition on a temporary question, on a passing difficulty, by an able man, but one of circumscribed view.

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Nobody has said when Baker's book was first published. It must have been in the last years of the seventeenth century. The third edition is the only one I have seen.

> Reflections Upon Learning, Wherein is shewn the Insufficiency Thereof, in its several Particulars. In order to evince the Usefulness and Necessity, of Revelation. The Third Edition Corrected. By a Gentleman.
>
> London, Printed for A. Bosville, at the Dial against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street. MDCC.

It is an 8vo, of unattractive exterior. It is said to have passed through eight editions; the only dates which I have seen quoted are 1708, 1710, 1756, which last is said to be the best. It was also translated into French, and published at Paris in 1714, with the title *Traité De L'Incertitude Des Sciences, Traduit de l'Anglois.* This is a nicer book than the English one.

The preface contains a review of previous writers on the same topic, and, besides Agrippa, there are mentioned Picus Mirandulanus, Ludovicus Vives, an anonymous French work, Wotton and Temple. Not one of these, however, satisfied Baker: Picus was as much out of date as the Aristotelian philosophy he attacked; Vives confined himself to Philology, and was very defective in Philosophy; the French tract was more of a sermon than a treatise on science; Wotton and Temple were too much taken up with the beauties of learning to discover its faults, so this invidious task Baker accordingly set himself to accomplish. One can but regret that the only book he published should have been so futile and evanescent a one on so unworthy a theme.

At this point I stop in the enumeration of these histories and books of secrets, for I cannot say that the topic admits of no further treatment, or that the end is reached, or that the material is exhausted even now, though it is not so abundant as when I began. With longer acquaintance, the field seems to widen, and the subject becomes more seductive and suggestive. There is always some old book coming forward which I did not know before, one compiled at a different time, or by a different hand, guided by another idea, appealing to other readers. There are books of secrets of nature and art still remaining which I have refrained from mentioning, because, while I know the titles, the books themselves I have failed entirely to see. These, obviously, must be the rarest of all. Some of them may yet be met

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with, but the prospect is too uncertain to speculate about. They might have been described at second hand, but this would have been a violation of the rule that I have thought it proper to adhere to throughout this whole research: not to attempt the description of a book which I have not seen and examined. A few quoted descriptions do occur, but they have been inserted only for comparison, or for some special reason. These may be accepted as accurate until comparison with the volumes reveals mistakes, though I have no occasion to suppose that there are any.

Of the treatise already described, there are also editions which I have quoted, but have passed by without further remark. The reason is the same as before: I have not had the opportunity of inspecting them. Such has been the case, for example, with the history of Polydore Vergil, with the secrets of Albertus Magnus, Alexis, Lupton, Baptista Porta, and very many others, of which there are plenty of editions I have not seen. The description of any one of these, fully and carefully gone into, would be pretty sure to yield something of value to the bibliographer. Some of the copies too must themselves be very interesting. In a few supplementary parts I have attempted to work out more fully the bibliography of a special book, or subject, or author, and the results are sufficiently encouraging to induce me to try something similar in one or two instances more. In certain cases, of course, when the various editions are but verbatim reprints, nothing will be added to our knowledge of the original; but in others there may be a preface, or imprint, or variation, which will lighten up a biographical, historical, literary, chronological or bibliographical doubt, and the light may be reflected off to some other perhaps more obscure topic. One thing, however, experience has shewn me is quite certain, that, without such an examination of the actual books it is in the highest degree rash and unsafe to pass an opinion on an original edition, or a reprint, or a later edition of a book, or to argue about what it is like, or what it contains, or to dogmatise about the date of an edition. There is no subject in which it is easier to go astray than bibliography, and especially so, when one seeks to arrive at an opinion with the guidance of another's description, rather than of the books themselves. It is hard, if not impossible, to be uniformly accurate in one's account of such objects as books, and of their history. I am quite prepared to be told,

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indeed I know already, that there are both errors and misprints in the present series of papers. I may yet have an opportunity of correcting these, but no one who has tried to make his descriptions exact but will be the first to lament the fungus-like celerity with which errors spring up on the least relaxation of attention and comparison.

The amount of literature upon "secrets" is quite considerable, greater than I had any notion of. As a rule the natural history secrets are the least true to nature. The medical secrets are not always to boast of; there are plenty of superstitious cures. The technical receipts are on the whole the most rational, although they are always empirical; no reason can be, or at least is given, for the substances employed, or the operations executed, and it sometimes happens that a receipt is little else than nonsense. I suspect, too, that the authors of the receipt books were not necessarily the best informed or most skilful operators. The minutiæ of practice in the technical arts formed trade or guild secrets, which only the initiated possessed, and the book writers may never have known them at all, or may have not dared to reveal them. Judged by results (the favourite method at present), the operations were ever superior to the described methods. Tradition, long practice, empirical skill slowly acquired and some sort of insight engendered of these, supplied to a certain extent the want of science and even led on to improvements. These were better teachers than the receipt books which have been enumerated, and which, after all, do not cast a bright light on the arts during the last two or three centuries. At all events, they cannot be considered as on a level with the remains of arts, for while the books are defective, in some departments the workmen two or three centuries ago were not behind the present time. The arts have, of course, been always at very different stages of development. Those which depend on the workman's dexterity, as the art of the potter, or of the goldsmith, have naturally been more advanced than those which depend on scientific knowledge. The latter, indeed, had either not been invented at all, or were less perfect, in proportión to the amount of science required.

The branch of literature represented in these notes is quite unknown to the historians and is disregarded by them. The bibliographers too have passed it by, and I am not aware that it has ever been brought systematically together. Undoubtedly these books would be useless for the workmen and the students

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of this present year, just as the newest books that would have been consulted five and twenty years ago, are about as antiquated to-day as if they were 250 or 2500 years old. Nor would they repay perusal for their own sake. But they have a value of which it is impossible to deprive them: they alone can tell us what were the teachings of science and the arts at the time they were in vogue, if that is ever worth knowing. They must be consulted by all who would know how the world has progressed; in a survey of medicine, science, the arts, and culture generally in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, they are indispensable and invaluable. Even a writer of historical fiction who wishes his story to have the verisimilitude of the time he pourtrays, would do well to study in these and like books the beliefs or the notions about natural phenomena, or the credulites of the people he may have to bring upon his stage, for he could not invent them. It would be as difficult to imagine the natural science of a past age, as it is to know the science of the present without devoted study. I do not think that any one now could write a book like Fenton's, or Johnson's, or the *Kiranides*, if he were to try.

This literature, however, has been neglected. Endless are the volumes written on the metaphysics and theology of the middle ages, on the quarrels and wars and politics and crimes of that time, but there are but meagre accounts of the men who fabricated the gold and silver and iron and wood work, who moulded the pottery, who built the cathedrals, who invented the coloured glass, who discovered the paints and the colours, the metals and their compounds, who devised the tools and wove the tapestry, who produced the wines, who dressed the parchment and made the paper, who bound the books, who forged the weapons and decorated the armour, who wrote the mauuscripts and illuminated them. Of all the arts, printing, certainly one of the greatest of them, is the only one which has had proper attention bestowed on it, and has had its history and productions duly investigated.

All these wonderful arts, and the positive gains from nature which they involve, were won in a rude age, as we are apt complacently to regard it, and yet they were the marks of its civilization fully as much as its scholastic philosophy. If proof be wanted, one may consider with what of past civilization the present is most in touch, most appreciates, feels to be truest and most real. In this more civilized age, with incalculably wider and profounder

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knowledge of all kinds, with a more thoroughgoing search for truth and reality, with centuries more of accumulated experience, is it scholastic theology and metaphysics, or is it mediæval art that appeals most strongly to the most cultured and civilized races? How many would care even to *see* the bulky folios of Aquinas, and Scotus, and Albertus, and Cardan, much less read them, compared with those who not merely look at but study profoundly, and even try to imitate the metal work, the pictures, the dress, the armour, the historical relics, the majolica or Palissy ware?

It is by the neglect of these subjects that literature and thought and education, and indirectly, even technology have become so one-sided. Education has been conducted as if all that mankind ought to care for was fiction and poetry, metaphysical speculation and theological deputation, the study of mere opinion, and the language expressing it. These could have been but the pastimes of the people, or the serious occupation of a few as at present, but not the life-long absorbing pursuits of the workers of the population, the producers, the agriculturists, the handicraftsmen, the artists. The survival of the mediæval standards for measuring knowledge and education by is most remarkable. After serving their time when nothing else was to be had, a time when men had to go through a sore struggle, mental, religious, political, physical, to arrive at freedom of thought, investigation and belief, these old-fashioned instruments are still retained when there is so much of new available.

The persistent empiricism of the arts even comes down from these earlier times when there was no learning but that of books, when science had not begun and nature was ignored, when rule-of-thumb knowledge was all that the workman had to go by. The "practical man" still thinks that empiricism is the best guide, perhaps he would say the only one, and keeps off scientific insight as intrusive. He cannot, however, do so always; science sooner or later finds its way into the recesses of his methods, and either confirms them and simplifies them if true, or amends them or obliterates them if based on insufficient principles.

Hitherto the advance has been comparatively slow, because science itself has been of slow growth, and its effects are so restrained and demand such a minute and exact knowledge that it takes long to appeal direct to the mass of man-

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kind. A step or two may be made in a generation, and they who have made it are seldom able to see the new prospect opened up thereby. But the rate of progress has been accelerated of late years by the larger body of workers engaged in investigation, by the interest forced even on the most unobservant by the application of discovery to comfort and convenience, perhaps specially by the fact that is being borne in upon the more thoughtful that neglect of nature and natural laws is a defect in education, and is certain to be followed by incapacity to deal with nature in all the practical requirements of life.

The consideration, however, of this topic would result in a dissertation upon so called "Technical Education," and upon the relations of science and practice. That is not the theme of the series of papers now concluded, but it naturally grows out of them, and at various points throughout, the same questions have obtruded themselves upon our notice. Unavoidably in a survey of the literature one contrasts the past and present, one seeks for an explanation of the difference between the two and asks why there is apparently such a vast chasm between the books on natural history, on technical art, on medical practice of the previous times and the books now. The explanation must be sought for in the history of the arts, and sciences, and medicine, and natural history respectively, and then it will be found that there is no chasm to bridge over, but that by slow steps the old has yielded age after age, little by little to the new, that the progress has never ceased, though at any one point it may be almost imperceptible, that truth has been arrived at only after much labour by many workers, and that it is only when stages of knowledge separated by centuries are compared with each other that the advance is perceived, the assured advance which is the encouragement for the searcher ever to go on.

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No. II.

NOTE AS TO JOHN JOHNSTON, OF CLATHRIE, PROVOST OF GLASGOW, 1685-86.

BY

ANDREW ROBERTS, F.S.A. Scot.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society, held on 16th January, 1890.*]

In October last, the remains of Miss Mary Walker, an old lady of 82 years, were laid in the High Church-yard, in a lair situated below and east of the Minister's aisle, opposite the old Barony Church, amongst her ancestors the Johnstons of Clathrie, from whom she was descended through a female. She was evidently the lady referred to by Dr. Gordon in *Glasghu Facies*, vol. 1, p. 452; and the papers I have here are the bundle of documents he mentions as being in her possession. The old lady certainly had a curious miscellany of information about old Glasgow families, and particularly those with whom she claimed relationship, which, if preserved, might have been of the greatest interest. As the little which Dr. Gordon says about her ancestor, Provost Johnston, is very imperfect and far from correct, I have ventured to lay the actual facts before you, in so far as I have been able to trace them, in the belief that they will be of some interest to the Members of the Society.

The earliest mention of the Johnstons of Clathrie which I have found deals with Archibald Johnstone, who was nominated by the Parliaments of 1644, 1646, 1648, and 1649 as a member of the Committee for War of the County of Dumfries, which clearly shows that he was a person of some consequence. They are said to have been a branch of the Westerhall family.

On 11th September, 1672, John Johnston of Clathrie obtained from King Charles II. a ratification of his lands of Nether Clathrie, in which he is described as of Clathrie, and Merchant Burgess of Glasgow. The description of the lands is All and Haill the lands of Nether Clauchrie and Knowehead, extending to ane twenty-two-shilling land of old extent or thereby with houses,

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biggings, yards, parts, pertinents, pendicles and pertinents thereof whatsoever; and with the commontie and pasturage outfield and infield lands pertaining and belonging to the said lands; as also, All and Haill the two merk and half-merk land, ten penny and half-penny land of old extent of the five-merk land of Auldgirth; and All and Haill the forty-penny land of Dunduff, with the manor place, houses, biggings, yards, orchyards, growing trees, fishing, and with the commonty and pasturage lying about and upon the Hill called Fairoch, and all other commonties, pasturages and pertinents of the said land lying within the Parish of Dalgarnoch and Shire of Dumfries. The lands were held during ward and non-entry at 20 merks yearly, a like sum for relief, and 100 merks for marriage. The Parish of Dalgarnoch was annexed to Closeburn Parish in 1697. The church was dedicated to St. Michael, and was granted to Holyrood during the reign of David I. In 1606 the teinds were valued at 9,000 merks.

The lands of Clathrie passed from the Johnston family about 1758, into the hands of Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, and now form part of the property of the Trustees of the late Mr. Douglas Baird of Closeburn. They extend to about 525 imperial acres, and in 1889 were let at a *cumulo* rental of some £400 per annum.

Auldgirth, Dunduff, Knowehead, and another property called Lochfoot, came in 1758 into possession of Margaret Johnston, who was served heiress in special to her father, Thomas Johnston. In 1764, she, with consent of Hugh M'Cornock, her husband, granted a disposition of these lands in favour of Archibald Malcolm, writer in Dumfries, the consideration being "a certain "sum of money as the agreed price of the lands, teinds, and others after-"disponed, wherewith we hold us well content and satisfied." In 1784 Archibald Malcolm sold these lands, under burden of his own liferent, to William Copland, of Colliston, for £2,478, in whose family the property has since remained. Little Dunduff belonged in 1506 to Sir William, 6th Baron of Drumlanrigg. The lands of Auldgirth are mentioned as early as the 13th century. In the 16th and 17th centuries they belonged to the Kirkpatrick family. In the latter part of the 17th century they came by purchase into possession of the Johnston family.

John Johnston is said to have been a Whig; and if he was so, he is probably the person of that name who was excepted in the Glasgow List

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in the Act of Indemnity for a fine of £600 Scots. He appears as a Bailie of Glasgow in 1674, 1677, and in 1680; and on 30th September, 1684, he was chosen Provost of Glasgow. In 1685 he was named as a Commissioner for Plantation of Kirks; and as early as 1668 he is, I presume, the John Johnston who was in that year the Preceptor of Hutcheson's Hospital.

On 6th October, 1685, he was continued in office by the Archbishop, and remained Provost until deprived of office in 1686; consequently he was amongst the last of the Provosts under the old system.

He was succeeded in his lands of Clathrie by his son John, who was served heir to his father, on 25th March, 1690.

He had another son, George, a merchant in Glasgow, who was admitted a Burgess and Guild Brother of Glasgow on 13th March, 1701, as lawful son of umquhil John Johnston; and he must have been of some consequence, for he was also a Burgess of Rutherglen on 31st March, 1712, and of Renfrew on 29th September, 1718. The Renfrew ticket bears that his composition is remitted for services done and to be done by him to the said burgh.

These tickets, which I show you, are worthy of notice, as having endorsed upon them the arms of Rutherglen and Renfrew in colours.

His son, Robert Johnston, mariner in Glasgow, married Mary Warden, and had a daughter, Mary, who was married to Robert Walker, merchant in Glasgow. Robert Walker was admitted Burgess on 13th October, 1786, as having married Mary Johnston, lawful daughter of Robert Johnston, mariner, eldest son of the deceased George Johnston, merchant, Burgess of Glasgow. This Robert Walker had a son, Robert, a spirit-dealer in the Bridgegate, who was admitted Burgess on 20th May, 1819, and the Mary Walker already mentioned was his last surviving child.

This George Johnston, younger son of the Provost, was proprietor of a house in the Bridgegate, which came through Mary Johnston to the Walker family. The house was No. 84-88, and was situated on the north side of the Bridgegate, midway between the Old and New Wynds. It was a long narrow strip of ground extending about 120 feet to the north, and having a frontage to the Bridgegate of about 26 feet. This property is in a disposition dated 21st March, 1648, granted by Janet Munro, relict of Mr. Archibald Allen, sometime Minister of Carmunnock, in favour of "Mr. Henry Blair, ane

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"of the ordained Ministers of the Burgh of Glasgow,* and Marie Munro, his "wife, and the longest liver of them both in conjunct fee, and liferent, and to the "heirs lawfully gotten betwixt them, which failzeing to the said Mr. Hew, his "own, heirs, and assignees whatsomever," described as follows:—All and Haill ane tenement of land fore, and back, high and laigh, with the yeard and pertinents lyand within the territory of the said Burgh; upon ye north side of ye Briggait, yrof and bounded betwixt the lands of John Boyd on the eist, the lands of umquhil Henry Sproule on ye weist, the lands of Andro Faulds on the north, and the King's Hie Street on the south pairts.

In 1801 when the Bridgegate House came into possession of Mary Johnston, daughter of Robert Johnston, who was the son of George Johnston, it was described in almost identical terms. Mary Johnston left the property to her husband, Robert Walker, in liferent, and to her son Robert Walker, in fee, and the trustees of the latter sold it to the Union Railway Company in 1866, for £2500. This was the house in which Mary Walker was born.

Dr. Gordon says that Provost Johnston was a worthy Tobacco Merchant, and a remarkable man in his day. He was a loyal man evidently, for he is mentioned as one of the Venturers in the *Privateer George* during the war with Holland in 1684. The particular incident, however, in the Provost's career which calls for attention is his deprivation of office in 1686, by what seems a somewhat tyrannical exercise of ecclesiastical power.

It is almost unnecessary to remind you that up to the Revolution of 1688, Glasgow in regard to its Municipal government occupied an altogether exceptional position. Although it was a Burgh of Regality as early as 1450, and a Royal Burgh in 1636, it was not until 1689 that it obtained the privilege which the other Royal Burghs possessed of electing their own Magistrates. Up to that date it was practically under the control of the Archbishops, when there happened to be Archbishops, or the Crown, or some Vassal of the Crown when there was no Archbishop. The Provosts were nominated by the Arch-

* John Blair, a second son of the Rev. Henry Blair, married on 31st October, 1701, Isabell Stuart, daughter of Ninian Stuart, of Escoge, with consent of John Stuart, of Escoge, advocate, her brother. The marriage was entered into at Crawford Ferm on that date, and the provision by the husband was 5000 merks, that by the lady being 1800 merks. The contract was signed before Sir William Fleming of Farm, Knight and Bart., Mr. Hugh Blair, Minister at Rutherglen, also a son of the Rev. Henry Blair, and others.

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bishop, and a list was submitted to him for his selection of Bailies. Notwithstanding this, there were sundry attempts at self-government, but these were invariably unsuccessful.

The Charter of 1636 creating Glasgow a Royal Burgh, shows this most emphatically, for contrary to the usual custom of Royal Burghs it expressly reserved to the Archbishop the right of nomination and election of Magistrates. Provost Johnston's case indicates this very clearly. He was chosen Provost twice by the Archbishop, and he was also deprived of his office through the influence of one who had held the position of Archbishop, and that within a year or two of the emancipation of Glasgow from the Archiepiscopal rule.

On 17th January, 1685, the Town Council minutes, which I was kindly permitted by Mr. Renwick to examine during this period, bear that Provost Johnston had been in Edinburgh consulting with Sir George Lockhart and the rest of the town's lawyers anent the town's affairs, and particularly in regard to a Summons of Reduction or Bill, as all actions were then called, raised by the Council for reducing some Bonds and Acts of Council granted by former magistrates, whereof one had been granted to the late Archbishop of Glasgow, Arthur Ross (translated to St. Andrews in 1684) for 20,000 merks for a tack of the teinds. This process had been approved of by the Council, and ordered to be prosecuted by advice of the lawyers.

According to Lord Fountainhall's report of this case, under date 26th December, 1685, the Lords refused the Bill, reclaiming against the exorbitancy of the grassum of 20,000 merks for a tack of teinds not worth 500 merks by the year, which was taken by the late Provost Barnes for his ends when he was put in by the Archbishop to be Provost, and when he was bankrupt.

That Provost Johnston was held in great repute is shown by the Town Council electing him to represent the burgh in Parliament. After the death of Charles II., a Proclamation was issued by James VII., on 16th February, 1685, calling a Parliament to meet at Edinburgh, on 9th April, 1685, whereupon the Magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow chose their Provost to be Commissioner for the burgh. This commission is dated 28th February, 1685. It contains ample and unrestricted powers of acting, "to treat, votte, and "conclude upon the haill affairs that shall happen to be proposed, treated, "and determined in the said Parliament, holding firm and stable what our said

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"Commissioner does in the premises." The wax seal is awanting. The Council's minute of that date orders the Clerk to give ane ample Commissioner, adding a clause not in the commission itself, "attour we testify and "declare our said Commissioner to be a man fearing God, of the true "Protestant religion presently in public profest, and authorised by the laws "of this kingdom, without suspicion of the contrair, ane merchant inhabitant "in our said burgh, bearing all portable charges with his neighbours, within "the same, and is such as may tyne and win in all their affairs."

He attended that Parliament, and one of his first acts was to protest for precedency before the four burghs named immediately before Glasgow, viz., Aberdeen, Stirling, Linlithgow, and St. Andrews. He also attended the Parliament of 29th April, 1686.

In his capacity of Provost, and in the interests of the burgh, he appears to have been accessory to the making of some statements in the town's action against the Archbishop of St. Andrews, which had given offence to that Prelate, who had evidently complained to the King. This was an insult which the King, who was bent upon maintaining the then arrangement of the public religion of the kingdom, would not readily forgive; and he accordingly, by letter dated at Whitehall, 19th March, 1686, on the narrative that he had been informed there hath been most injurious calumnies laid upon the Most Rev. Father in God, and his right trusty and well-beloved Councillor, Arthur, Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, by John Johnston, Provost of Glasgow, the Privy Council were directed to find out how far he had been guilty of, or accessory to, these infamous libels, given in a Bill or Bills to His Majesty's Council and Session (evidently the action of reduction I have mentioned) by any advice, counsell, instigation, information, or consent; and a warrant being issued, he was apprehended about the 17th June, 1686. After being tried by a Committee of the Privy Council, witnesses being adduced, he was, by decree of the Privy Council of date 25th June, 1686, found guilty of being accessory to the giving in of a defamatory Bill of Suspension to the Lords of Session against the Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, and of uttering calumnious and injurious expressions at several times against His Grace in relation to the said Bill. Therefore they, in pursuance of a letter from His Most Sacred Majesty, did turne him out of the said Magistracy of

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Glasgow, and appointed the last Provost of that burgh, to officiate as such, until the next election, conform to the use of that town in case of vacancies; and further ordained him to crave pardon, publicly, of the Lord St. Andrews at the Council bar upon his knees and committed him forthwith to prison in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, there to remain during the Council's pleasure; and, after his liberation, ordained him immediately to repair to Glasgow to acknowledge his said crime and injury done to the said Archbishop. And the said Provost Johnston being called in, and the said sentence being intimated to him, he (the word has been purposely deleted) craved pardon of the Lord of St. Andrews, conform thereto, and was sent to prison from the Bar.

Four days after this decree, on 29th June, 1686, while the Provost was in the Tolbooth, the Lords of the Privy Council by an act anent a Petition presented by the witnesses adduced against the Provost, who were cited to appear and did appear, by which they were put to charges and expenses, the Lords modified, decerned, and ordained the sum of 16/- Scots to ilk ane of the Petitioners, being horsemen, and the sum of 8/- Scots to be paid to ilk ane of them dailie for the space of six days by the Provost as their expenses in compearing and deponing, and they further decerned him in 100 merks Scots, as expenses of plea and £7 sterling as due to the Lords Secretaries upon account of the letters sent down from the King, which was occasioned by the Provost's fault, and in regard the Council passed from any fine upon that account, at the desire and earnest entreaty of the Lord Archbishop of St. Andrew's, the person caluminat, they ordained him to make payment to the Clerks of the Council before he be liberated.

The day following the Privy Council's decree of 25th June, the Magistrates and Council of Glasgow, being convened, in obedience to the order of the Lords of His Majesty's Most Honourable Council, dated at Edinburgh, the 25th day of June instant, mentioning that the Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council in pursuance of His Majesty's letter, dated at Whitehall, 19th March last, and the said Lords their sentence, for turning out John Johnston, of the Magistracy of Glasgow do thereby order John Barnes, late Provost thereof, to be presentlie installed Provost of that Burgh, and to officiate as such therein until the next election, conform to use in caise of vacancies, and recommends to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Glasgow (Alexander

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Cairncross) to write to the present Magistrates and Council of Glasgow, to install the said John Barnes, their Provost, accordingly, as the said order subscribed by William Paterson, Clerk to the Council bears conform to which order and recommendation His Grace the Archbishop did direct ane letter to the Bailies and Town Council of the said Burgh, dated at Edinburgh, 25th inst. Shortly, the letter follows:—

"Worthie Freends,—His Mātie and his Privie Council ordering the "removal of John Johnston, of Clathrie, from his office as being Proveist of "Glasgow, and that John Barnes, last Proveist, according as is usual in cases "of vacancies, be admitted again to the said office untill the next election. "These are therefore requiring you to receive the said John Barnes as Proveist "of your Council and the Toune of Glasgow. Whilk order is hereby intimated "to you by your affectionat friend to serve you. Sic sub. Alex^r. Glasguensis." In obedience and command to said order and letter, the Town Council sent for John Barnes, who came and accepted office, gave his oath *de fideli*, as use is, and swore the oath and test and subscribed same.

On the last day of the same month of June, the Provost, who had in obedience to the Council's sentence, stayed prisoner in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, presented a petition shewing that he had stayed prisoner within the Tolbooth of Edinburgh since Friday last; and, seeing that it was notour to all persons within the Tolbooth, who had occasion to converse with him, that he had been several times very sickly and his health endangered by imprisonment, the lords having heard and considered, granted order and warrant to the Magistrates of Edinburgh, and maisters of the Tolbooth thereof to sett him at liberty, in regard the Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews had interceded for that purpose, and in regard he had fulfilled the sentence passed, yesterday (the payment of witnesses and expenses), and had enacted himself to compear before the Magistrates and Council of Glasgow, betwixt and Saturday come seven nights, being the 10th of July, there to crave pardon in terms of the decreet, and that under the penalty of 1,000 merks Scots in case of failure.

The last act took place on 5th July, when the Provost presented himself before the Magistrates and Council of Glasgow, and craved pardon for his crimes and injuries done to his Grace the Archbishop of St. Andrews, in

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the terms contained in the the said Lords of the Privy Council, their decreet pronounced against him there-anent, dated the 25th day of June last, whereupon the said Provost Johnston took instruments. This is with the exception of the recital of a deed, which he granted in favour of his son John, after referred to, the last reference I can find to the Provost, who died about the beginning of the year 1690.

This ends the story. Whether the Town Council sympathised with their Provost or not, I know not. Most probably they did, but like wise men in these times they took care not to put anything into their minutes which would implicate them in any way. It seems apparent, all the same, that in Provost Johnston's case he, as the head of the Council, was the scapegoat. They were wise, for in 1689 the old order was abolished, and the Magistrates and Council were thereafter elected by a poll vote of all burgesses—John Anderson of Dowhill, being the first real Provost.

Dr. Gordon says it was Archbishop Sharpe whom the Provost slandered. The terms of the decree quoted by me, clearly show that Archbishop Ross who held the See of Glasgow in 1679-84, and who was afterwards translated to St. Andrew's, was the person slandered, and that the slander complained of arose in connection with the action of reduction of the Tack of Teinds referred to, which was ordered in January, 1686, by the Council to be prosecuted.

This is confirmed by Lord Fountainhall, who in his Decisions under date 17th June, 1686, notes that the Archbishop had complained of the Provost for giving in a defaming and reflecting Bill of Suspension on him, and again on the 25th of the same month, he adds, John Johnston, mentioned 17th inst, is degraded, and Barnes appointed as Provost of Glasgow till Michaelmas, and he was ordained on his knees to crave the Archbishop's pardon, and sent to prison; yet "*injuria anno et dissimulatione tollitur*," and it was more than a year here, but this was *injuria scripta*.

Dr. Gordon then adds that the Provost's houses and lands were confiscated, and that he was ruined by the prosecution, the only property remaining untouched being his house in the Bridgegate, secured under his marriage contract. The decree says nothing about confiscation. Indeed, it expressly bears that at the intercession of the Archbishop he was not even fined; and

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I have shown that the Provost's lands remained in his family until 1758. The Provost's eldest son, John, in an assignation executed by him on 24th October, 1698, where he describes himself as son of umquhil John Johnston, late Provost of Glasgow, assigns to George Johnston, merchant, Glasgow, his brother-german, a sum of £701 4s. Scots money, restand awand to him by the Town of Glasgow, of the account betwixt them and him, which he had acquired from his father by an assignation dated 10th July, 1680. This debt in all probability, represented the Provost's claim for expenses incurred in the proceedings relating to his removal from office, and is possibly still an outstanding obligation of the town.

Another statement to the effect that the Provost refused to beg pardon on his knees, but was afterwards liberated on condition of his agreeing to acknowledge his fault in presence of the Town Council, is clearly disproved by the terms of the decree, which expressly bears that he had craved pardon conform thereto. Dr. Gordon then adds, "we have no means of ascertaining "whether Mr. Johnston complied with this condition (the acknowledgment of "his fault to the Town Council) or not, but in all probability he did." When he made this statement he had apparently forgot that in his own book, vol. 1, p. 215, he reprinted from the *Memorabilia* the minute of 6th July, 1681, containing the Provost's formal acknowledgment of his crime and injury, the foot note to which suggests the origin of the calumny.

It is not necessary for me to follow Dr. Gordon's remarks as to the relationship claimed by Miss Walker to the Parkers and others, farther than to say that I have heard her make the claims much in the way in which Dr. Gordon puts them. Amongst her papers I found a long Inventar of Writs of a back tenement of land (dated 11th November, 1682), quhilk is now ruinous through the last late accidental fire lyand within the Burgh of Glasgow, upon the south side of the Trongate thereof, which belonged to the Parkers in 1660, and which is interesting as containing the signature of John Anderson of Dowhill, the first of the reformed Provosts of Glasgow. My enquiries, have, however, been principally confined to the Johnston family, and to the interesting incident in the Municipal Government of Glasgow which happened during the last days of its archiepiscopal rule.

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No. III.

THE EPISCOPAL SEALS OF THE ANCIENT DIOCESE OF GLASGOW:

BY

THE MOST REVEREND ARCHBISHOP EYRE, D.D.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 20th November*, 1890.]

A VALUABLE and interesting series of Scottish Episcopal seals may be found in the seals of the ancient see of Glasgow. This series begins with the seal of Jocelin (1175-1199), and ends with that of James Beaton, the last Archbishop. From Jocelin, the Bishops were twenty-four in number. Casts of ten of their seals were shewn at the late Glasgow Exhibition "Bishop's Castle," Nos. 1163-1172; and photo-lithos of twenty-three of these seals are given with this paper.

Scottish seals of all kinds have been well described and illustrated by the late Henry Laing, of Edinburgh, who published in 1850 and in 1866, two volumes quarto, containing a catalogue of 2608 seals, of which 233 are seals of Scotch Bishops, and giving many illustrations of seals. Amongst these are fifteen seals of the Bishops of Glasgow.

A series of engravings of the seals is to be found in the *Reg. Epus. Glas.*, published by the Maitland Club, vol. ii., plates 1-4. Also many of them may be seen in Dr. Gordon's *Scotichronicon* and in Macgeorge's *Armorial Insignia.*

The value of these seals, and the interest attached to the study of them may be deduced from (*a*) the illustrations of ecclesiastical dress and ornament; (*b*) the armorial bearings, both official and family arms; (*c*) the showing the progressive lettering of the inscriptions, which are often of use in settling the epoch of other undated inscriptions; and (*d*) the ornamental work and canopies that correspond with the advances in architecture of the period.

Pre-Reformation Bishops' seals are divided into four main groups:—

1. Seals of dignity, or great seals, of an oval shape, more or less pointed at top and bottom; with

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2. Their counter-seals;
3. Private seals, or secreta;
4. Seals *ad causas* for public instruments of a less important nature than those attested by Nos. 1 and 2.

Of the great seals, we have casts of 15 which are figured in the accompanying plates. They may be divided into two classes:—I. Those with a full-length figure covering the whole seal, from A.D. 1175-1316. II. Those with smaller figures, from A.D. 1318-1560; which may be sub-divided into: (*a*) small figures, with armorial bearings, 1318; (*b*) do., under a canopy without shafts, 1300; (*c*) do., with shafts, 1320; (*d*) do., with double wings to shafts, 1454.

Counter-seals were often made of old gems with carving on them. Often they are very beautiful in design and execution. The legends are curious and interesting, as we shall see in the sequel. On two English counter-seals were the legends, *Munio sigillum*, and *Sum custos et testis sigilli*. The use of the counter-seal arose because the seals were pendant. A Seal of Cause was for a local charter of incorporation, or, for the grant by which the superior constitutes subordinate corporations, or crafts, and defines their privileges and powers. Till 1560 the Bishop had to grant these incorporations. See the account of the Charter of 1516 in favour of the skinners and furriers of Glasgow, and the one of 1558 in favour of the Cordiners, in *Old Glasgow*, p. 85 and 86. This latter was granted by the Magistrates "with the consent, "assent, approbation, and ratification of the Most Rev. Father James, by the "Mercy of God, Archbishop of Glasgow." And, "The Rev. Father, our Lord "and Prelate, in verification of his consent and approbation," appends his seal before that of the community. Of counter-seals, secreta, and ad causas, there are seven in these plates.

Before describing the seals of the Bishops, it may be well to state that in old times there were no arms belonging to the various sees. In the Bishop's seals the family shield was introduced.

Whilst the seals of the nobility and gentry were of the circular shape, the ecclesiastical seals were of that pointed oval shape known as the *Vesica Piscis*, at least from the 12th century.

In speaking of the deeds to which these seals were appended, we shall have occasion to speak of white wax, green wax, and red wax, and sometimes of a

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mixture of two colours. White seems to have been used for the great seals, and the burghs and monasteries; green was often used up to the 14th century; after that time, red was the colour used. Occasionally two colours were used, the impression being first taken in coloured wax, and then imbedded in a mass of uncoloured wax, forming a border round the design. Of the Glasgow Episcopal seals, Nos. 10, 11, and 14 were of the two colours.

I. No. 1 is the seal of Bishop Jocelin, 1175-1190, with its counter-seal. An engraving of this seal is given in *Laing's Seals*, plate, xv., No. 1; in *R.E.G.*, pl. i., No. 1; in *Scotichronicon*, p. 473. It represents St. Kentigern, a full-length figure in chasuble, with crozier in his left hand, and giving his benediction with his right hand, the two first fingers extended. On the rim of the pointed oval seal is the inscription, *Sigillum Jocelini Glasguensis episcopi.* The date of this seal is c. 1190, and so it is an interesting specimen of the work of the end of the 12th century.

The counter-seal is made of a small circular antique gem, representing two doves perched on a vase. The inscription is quite illegible. The seal was appended to a Charter, by Jocelin, to the Abbey of Melrose.

II. No. 2 is the seal and counter-seal of Florence, Bishop Elect of Glasgow. The seal is engraved in *L.S.*, pl. xv., fig. 3; in *R.E.G.*, pl. i., fig. 3; and in *Scotichronicon* p. 477. He was the son of Ada, the grand-daughter of David I. King William, his uncle, made him his chancellor. On the translation of Bishop William Malvoisin to St. Andrews, he was elected Bishop of Glasgow in 1202. He was never consecrated, and resigned his charge in 1207. He went to Rome in 1211, and died there the following year.

The seal represents a young man seated before a lectern, on which is a book. In his left hand he holds a staff like a palm branch, and the raised right hand has the fore-finger extended. On the rim is the wording, *Sigill Florenci Glasguensis electi.* It is a design of a special interest, from shewing the difference between the seal of a Bishop consecrated, and one elected only.

The counter-seal is a small ancient Intaglio, with two persons standing. The date of the seal is c. 1204, and was appended to a Charter to the Abbey of Melrose.

III. No. 3 is the seal and counter-seal of Walter, Bishop of Glasgow, 1208-

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1233. It is engraved in *L.S.*, pl. xv., fig. 1; *R.E.G.*, pl. i., fig. 4; and in *Scotichronicon*, p. 478.

Walter was chaplain to King William the Lion. The seal is a full-length figure of a Bishop, in profile, bearded, in pontifical vestments, with mitre, crozier in his left hand, and the right hand in act of benediction, standing on a crescent reversed. The apparel on the alb is very distinct and ornamental. The legend is, *Sigill. Walteri Dei gra. Glasguensis Epi.*

The counter-seal, of the pointed ovalshape, has three-quarters of a Bishop in profile, with the legend, *Sigill. Walteri Capellani Glasg.*, in allusion to his being chaplain to King William. The seal is of the date c. 1227.

In the *R.E.G.*, No. 122 is a deed of Bishop Walter, A.D. 1214, confirming to the Church of Glasgow, 3 marcs from the Mill of Cader, to which was appended a seal of white wax, having on one side a Bishop vested in a chasuble; and the other side was obliterated.

IV. No. 4 is the seal and counter-seal of Bishop Wm. Bondington, 1233-1258. It is engraved in *L.S.*, pl. xv., fig. 4; in *R.E.G.*, pl. i., fig. 5; and in *Scotichronicon*, p. 479.

This seal, containing a full-length figure of a Bishop, is almost an exact repetition of the one last described. The legend is, *Sigill. Willelmi Dei gra. Glasguensis Epi.*

The counter-seal has a figure of St. Kentigern, with chasuble, mitre, and crozier, blessing a Bishop kneeling before him, probably Bondington himself, who is saying, *Ora pro nobis Beate Kentegerne.* The date of the seal is c. 1237, and it was appended to a composition between the Monastery of Melrose and the Monastery of Jedworth. The seal was also appended to a deed, *R.E.G.*, No. 205, by which the Bishop granted (9th April, 1258), the chapter and church of Glasgow power to elect their Dean. The note adds, "to this deed "was appended a seal of white wax, having on one side a Bishop robed in "chasuble and mitre, in his left hand holding the pastoral staff, and giving "the blessing with his upraised right hand. On the other side, a Bishop "similarly robed, blessing a Bishop in his pontificals, kneeling before him "with joined hands. Round it is the inscription, *Ora pro nobis beate* "*Kentegerne.*" The annotator adds, "In this seal, which is the oldest of those "I have seen entire, there is no trace of the fish, ring, or bird."

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V. No. 5 is the early seal and signet of Bishop Robert Wishart. 1272-1316. It is not given in *L.S.*; but is engraved in *R.E.G.*, pl. iii., fig. 1; and in *Scotichronicon*, p. 485.

It represents St. Kentigern, beardless, standing robed in a very ample chasuble, and jewelled mitre, in his left hand a crozier, exceptionally long, and the right hand in benediction. What is remarkable about this seal is, a sprig or branch of a tree with a bird upon it, on the Bishop's right hand, and on the left hand, a fish upright with a ring in its mouth. The legend is, *S. Roberti. Wyschard. Dei. gra. Episcopi Glasguensis.*

The signet is a small circular one, made of an old intaglio, with the legend, *Sig.*, and the rest is illegible.

VI. No. 6 is the early counter-seal of Bishop Robert Wishart. This seal is engraved in *L.S.*, pl. xv., fig. 6; in *R.E.G.*, pl. i., fig. 6. It is said that this was his seal used from his accession till 1306.

The engraving is taken from a seal, c. 1314 to one of the Melrose Charters, *Laing*, p. 165. In *L.S.* it is described *as a seal* of Bishop R. Wishart; but in the *R.E.G.* it is called a *counter-seal*, used with a seal *for causes* in 1540. This is evidently a mistake.

It is a smaller seal than No. 5, and is the earliest of the Glasgow seals in which the figure does not occupy the whole field. Figures of St. Kentigern and St. Laurence occupy two niches in the centre, and below them is the figure of a Bishop kneeling. The border on the sinister sides is wanting, and all the legend remaining is . . . *gra Episcopi Glasguens.* A peculiarity of this seal is that the kneeling Bishop faces the dexter side of the seal.

VII. No. 7 is the later seal and counter-seal of the same prelate. They are engraved in *L.S.*, pl. xvi., fig. 1; *R.E.G.*, pl. ii., fig. 1; in *Scotichronicon*, p. 484. The counter-seal only is engraved in Macgeorge's *Old Glasgow*, p. 25, and in *Glasghu Facies*, p. 36.

In the seal, under a rich canopy, is a full-length figure of a Bishop robed in his pontificals, his right hand raised, with the thumb and two first fingers extended, and his left holding the crozier. On each side of the Bishop is the head of a saint, with nimbus. Below the dexter head is a bird, and below the sinister one, a fish with a gemmed ring in its mouth. The inscription is, *S. Roberti. Dei. gratia. Epi. Glasguensis.* Two things are to be noted in this

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1.

Seal and Counter-seal.

Jocelin.

1175-1199.

2.

Florence. 1202-1207.

3.

Walter. 1208-1232.

4.

William Bondington. 1233-1258.

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5.

Robert Wishart. 1272-1316.
Early Seal and Signet.

6.

Robert Wishart. Early Counter-seal.

7.

Later Seal and Counter-seal of Robert Wishart.

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8.

9.

Walter Wardlaw. 1368-1387.

10.

William Lauder. 1408-1425.

John Lindsay. 1322-1335.

11.

John Cameron. 1426-1446.

12.

Andrew Muirhead. 1454-1473.

13.

John Laing. 1473-1483.

14.

Robert Blackader. 1483-1508.

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15.

Archbishop Robert Blackader. 1500.

16.

Archbishop James Beaton. 1509-1522.

17.

Archbishop Gavin Dunbar. 1522-1547.

18.

Archbishop James Beaton. 1551.

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seal; it is the first of the series with a canopy over the Bishop's head; and he is standing on a lion crouching. Whether the lion was from the Bishop's family arms, or from the allusion to Psalms, xc. 13, "Thou shalt trample under "foot the lion and the dragon," we cannot say.

This seal, in white wax, was appended to No. 403 of the Melros Charters, being a deed of Bishop R. Wishart, giving the Church of Ochiltree to the Monastery, c. 1315.

The counter-seal is rich in design, consisting of three compartments divided horizontally. Of all the diocesan seals, this is the most remarkable, both from its subject and its inscription. The top compartment represents a monk kneeling, and presenting a fish with a large jewelled ring in its mouth to St. Kentigern, who is seated with mitre and crozier. In the middle compartment are two niches; in the dexter, a figure with the sword in his right hand; in the sinister niche, a female figure holding a ring in her right hand. In the lowest compartment, in a niche, is a figure of Bishop Wishart kneeling; below him is a lion crouching; and in the spandrils above his niche are two heads nimbed, similar to those on the seal itself. The inscription is, *Rex. furit. Hec. plorat. Patet. aurum. Dum. sacer. orat.* The counter-seal was also appended to the Melros Charter mentioned above.

Is this counter-seal meant to represent the following Legend of the Breviary?—The Queen of Cadzow gave a ring that had been presented to her by her husband to a certain knight. The king took it off the knight's finger as he slept, and threw it into the Clyde. Through anger and jealousy he was about to put her to death, when, in her distress, she applied to St. Kentigern, imploring his interposition for the recovery of the ring. St. Kentigern sent one of his disciples to fish there with a hook, and gave instructions that the first fish taken from the river should be brought to him. When this was done, in the mouth of the salmon was found the ring that had been lost. (See *Life*, chap. xxxvi.) From this legend, coupled with the inscription round the counter-seal, the various figures have been thus explained: in the upper portion of the seal a monk kneeling presents the fish with the ring in its mouth to St. Kentigern seated; in the two niches below him are the king with a drawn sword ready to slay his supposed frail lady, unless she can produce the ring, and the lady triumphantly presenting the ring to him.

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Though not prepared to deny this to be the correct interpretation of Bishop R. Wishart's counter-seal, we think there are reasons to doubt it. These are:

1. The figure with the sword does not seem to represent a man in anger, but was the ordinary way of representing Royalty or nobility. On other deeds in the *Reg. Epus. Glasg.* are seals of this kind, *e.g.*, Deed 47, p. cviii., had "*sigillum ex cera alba exhibens ipsum Robertum, filium regis Scotiæ, dextra extensa gladium strictum tenentem;*" and Deed 141, of date 1226, p. cxvi., has "*sigillum ipsius Comitis* (Lennox) *ex cera viridi, exhibens Comitem strictum gladium dextra tenentem.*"

2. The figure with the sword may be David, whose great work was the restoration of the Bishopric of Glasgow about the year 1115, or Malcolm III, and the female figure may be his mother, St. Margaret. The translation of her relics had taken place at Dunfermline twenty years before the accession of Bishop Wishart, and the nobles, clergy, and people of Scotland had just sent a petition to Innocent IV. for her canonization.

3. The greatest difficulty, however, in rejecting the commonly received explanation of the counter-seal, is in the inscription round it. Laing says, "The inscription on this fine seal is rather imperfect, but has evidently been —*Rex furit Hec plorat Patet aurum Dum sacer orat,*" p. 165. This canting inscription may be thus rendered—"*The King is angry, she in tears, as the Saint prays, the gold appears.*" Yet the inscription may have been an afterthought, or added at a later period by an artist who knew the legend, but not Bishop Wishart's intention in the design.

4. It is quite possible that the kneeling figure in the lower compartment may be meant for St. Kentigern, according to the words, "*Dum sacer orat,*" in which case the seated figure would be Bishop Wishart. The female figure does not represent a woman in tears or sorrow.

5. The inscription may have been added to the seal during the absence of Bishop Wishart from his See. Owing to his support of Scottish independence he was sent as a prisoner to England in 1306, kept there for eight years, until the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314. As the seal was appended to a Deed in 1315, it was in the year after his release and the year before his death. Under these circumstances it is quite possible that his late counter-seal may have been altered.

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The two heads nimbed, on the right side and left side of the Bishop in the seal, and in the spandrils of the counter-seal, are supposed by Laing to be "the heads of St. Kentigern and St. David," p. 164; whose conjecture is followed in the *Scotichronicon*, p. 484, and in *Glasghu Facies*, p. 36. To us it seems clear that St. Kentigern is not represented in either of the heads. Could these have been meant for St. Ninian and St. Columba, or for the heads of Wallace and Bruce, who were strenuously supported by Wishart? And could the monk on the counter-seal be in allusion to the Bishop establishing the Franciscan friars at Haddington when the Culdees were extinguished?

There is much obscurity about this seal and its date. Macgeorge, in *Old Glasgow*, speaks of "the counter-seal of Bishop Robert Wyschard, made "about the year 1271," p. 25; and again, "the first of the Bishops, who added to his seal any of the emblems of the miracles, was *William* Wyschard, who "was elected to the See in 1270," p. 95. Two mistakes seem to have crept in here. William Wishart was elected to the See of Glasgow in 1270, but was translated to St. Andrews in 1272; and Robert Wishart's counter-seal could not have been made so early as 1271. William Wishart's private seal is described in *Laing*, vol. ii., p. 185, as a pretty design of two pointed arches; in the dexter one a Bishop giving his blessing; in the sinister, St. Kentigern with a fish in his right hand; in a niche below is a Bishop kneeling at prayer. The inscription is *Secretum Wischard Dei gra. Episcopi Glasguen.*

6. Another possible explanation of the counter-seal and of the inscription as it stands is this: Bruce was proscribed by Edward I, who in his triumph had carried away from Scotland the crown, the sceptre, and the coronation-stone. Bishop Wishart supported Bruce, and saw him seated on the throne in 1306. At Bruce's Coronation the Abbot of Scone lent the chair, and a circlet of gold, from the Abbey Church, served for the crown. So the words *Rex furit* might apply to the anger of Edward when he invaded Scotland; *Hec plorat*, to the sorrows of Scotland or to the death of Wallace; *Patet aurum*, to the circlet of gold used for a crown; and *Dum sacer orat*, to the prayers of St. Kentigern for the prosperity of the country.

7. Another, not impossible, interpretation would be, *Rex furit*, the anger of Edward against Bishop Wishart, who, in 1296, had sworn fealty to him;

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Hec plorat, the wailing of the Bishop at his long imprisonment for the rights of the church of the kingdom of Scotland; *Patet aurum*, the throne occupied by Bruce, the greatest king Scotland ever saw; and *Dum sacer orat*, the Saint's prayers having helped to bring about this happy result. In the two latter suggested explanations the central figures of the counter-seal would be Robert Bruce and his wife, who was released, together with Bishop Wishart after the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314.

These are mere conjectures; but we cannot but think that this counter-seal has not yet been clearly interpreted, and is worthy of further investigation.

VIII. No. 8 is the seal of Bishop John Lindsay, 1322-1335. An engraving of it is given in *L.S.*, pl. xvi., fig. 3; in the *R.E.G.*, pl. ii., fig. 3; in *Scotichronicon*, p. 490. Though called by Laing and in the *Glasg. Chartulary*, the seal of John Wishart, it was really the seal of his successor, John Lindsay. The proof is that (*a*) the seal is appended to one of the Melrose Charters that bears the date of 1326, at which time Lindsay filled the See; and (*b*) the arms on the sinister side of the seal are the arms of the Lindsays.

The seal is of a very rich design. It has a figure of a Bishop, evidently St. Kentigern, in a niche with a light elegant canopy; and in the lower part a figure of a Bishop kneeling in prayer. On the dexter side is a shield with a lion rampant debruised of a ribbon in bend—the bearings of Abernethy, often borne on the shields of the Lindsays. The shield on the sinister side appears to be charged with a bend. The inscription is *Sigillum Johannis Dei gra. Epi. Glasguensis.*

This seal has an especial interest from the fact that though the twig, the fish, and the bird do not appear upon it, it is the first of the series in which heraldry is introduced.

Attached to it is the seal of Bishop John Lindsay "for causes," and, on that account, his less important seal. The inscription is *S. Johis Dei gra. Epi. Glasguen. ad cas.* It is engraved in *L.S.*, pl. xvi., fig. 4; in *R.E.G.*, pl. ii., fig. 4; in *Scotichronicon*, p. 490. Beneath a rich canopy is a figure of a Bishop filling the seal. Above the right hand appears a mullet, as also beneath the two shields. The fish with the ring and the bird, appear without the branch, in combination with two shields. The dexter one bears ermine three bars, and the sinister one bears an orle vairé, surmounted with a bend.

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This seal "ad causas" was appended to a Vidimus by the Bishop, A.D. 1333. A curious history is attached to it, as seen in an Instrument of protest, dated 23rd April, 1325, and printed in the *R.E.G.*, No. 271. The Instrument shews that while the Bishop was residing at his manor at "Bishop's Loch," this seal had been lost by Robert del Barkour near the chapel of St. Mary, Dumbarton, and was found and restored to him by James Irwyn, a monk of Paisley. In the same Instrument the seal is described as having "the form or representa-"tion of the blessed Bishop Kentigern his patron, together with the shield of a "nobleman, William de Concyaco, on one side, with a fish bearing a ring in its "mouth above it; and his own shield of arms on the other side, with a little "bird over it." The arms of the Family of De Coucy were "a Barry of six, Vairé, and Gules," which corresponds with the dexter shield.

IX. No. 9 is the seal of Bishop Walter Wardlaw, 1368-1387. An engraving is given in *Laing*, vol. ii., pl. x., fig. 4, but not in *R.E.G.*, nor in *Scotichronicon.* This is a very fine seal. Within the niche, over which there is a canopy, is a full-length figure of the Blessed Virgin with the Divine Child; and a full-length figure of a Bishop with mitre and crozier. The two small niches at the side contain figures; and in base is a shield, bearing on a fess, between three mascles, as many crosses. The inscription is, *S. Walteri Dei gracia Episcopi Glasguensis.*

Bishop Matthew Glendoning succeeded Bishop Wardlaw, and presided over the See from 1389-1408. We have met with no cast or engraving of his seal. It is, however, described in a note to a document of his, of date, 21st May, 1401, *R.E.G.*, i., 135, Doc., No. 320—"*Sigillum epi ex cera rubea super alba,* "*exhibens imaginem Dei Patris Christum crucifixum coram se tenentis: inferius* "*vero arma episcopi gentilitia, scilicet super scuto crucem striatam, et in apice* "*scuti baculus pastoralis eminet. Hinc inde ex utraque parte scuti piscis et avis* "*cernuntur,*" p. cxxxvi. He may have used the Crucifixion for his seal on account of his family arms; and Bishop W. Lauder may have adopted it from the example of his predecessor.

Bishop Lauder's seal is the last of the series in which the words, "*Dei gratia*" are used.

X. No. 10 is the seal of Bishop William Lauder, 1408-1425. It is engraved in *Laing*, pl. xvii, fig. 2; in *R.E.G.*, pl. iii., fig 2; in *Scotichronicon*, p. 497.

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This is a very beautiful seal. Beneath a very ornamental canopy is the figure of God the Father with a nimbus, sitting and supporting between His knees our Blessed Lord on the cross. Below these figures is a Bishop kneeling in prayer. On each side of the centre niche is a small projecting recess with a figure in it kneeling, whilst above them in canopied niches are two upright figures. There are four shields, the four upper ones bearing the arms of Scotland; the lower one on the sinister side charged with a griffin segreant, the family arms of Lauder; probably there was a similar one the dexter side.

The legend is *S. Willelmi Dei gratia Episcopi Glasguensis.* This seal is appended to a Charter in Glasgow College, A.D. 1417; as also to Deed 326 in *R.E.G.* of 19th May, 1415, and the seal was of red wax on white *(ex cera rubea super alba).* Also it was appended to Deed 328 of 27th March, 1417, and was of green wax. It is there described, in note *a* thus, "*exhibet imagi-* "*nem Dei Patris sedentis in throno, tenentis coram se imaginem Christi crucifixi:* "*Hinc inde ex utraque parte throni arma Scotiæ, Leonem scilicet erectum. Infima* "*vero pars sigilli ubi erant arma ipsius episcopi, attrita est.*" He seems to have had another seal, described *R.E.G.*, p. vi., note *d.*

XI. Bishop Cameron succeeded Bishop Lauder, and held the See from 1426. 1446. The seal No. 11 is the seal of Bishop Cameron. Two of Cameron's seals are described in *Laing*, vol. 2, Nos. 1079 and 1080.

(*a*) The first one, used by him when made Lord Chancellor in 1428, was a small octagon seal, with three bars, his family arms. It had no inscription; the shield is supported on a pastoral staff. Appended to a Document in H.M. Record Office, dated 12th July, 1429.

(*b*) This is engraved in *Laing*, pl. ix., fig. 2. It is the first of the round seals in the Glasgow series. The design is very fine, and beneath a rich canopy, with tabernacle work at the sides, is the head of St. Kentigern mitred and nimbed. The bust rests on a shield supported by a crozier, and bears the three bars of the Cameron arms. At each side, as supporters, is the fish with a ring in its mouth.

The inscription is *S. Johannis Cameron Epi. Glasguensis.* It is appended to a Document dated 4th September, 1439. Bishop Cameron's arms, copied from the great tower of the castle, are given in a wood-cut, p. 63 of *Glasghu Facies.*

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Bishop William Turnbull, 1448-1454, succeeded Bishop Cameron. We do not find any engraving of his seal; but a notice occurs in the *R.E.G.*, stating that it was appended to a Document, No. 364, "*Bulla pro lacticinüs*," of date 26th March, 1451; to which a note is added, saying, "This document, written on paper, bore a round seal, of red wax, shewing a Bishop on his throne wearing the chasuble; below were the arms of the Bishop, a bull's head."

XII. No. 12 is the seal of Andrew Muirhead, 1454-1473. It is engraved in *Laing*, pl. xvi., fig. 5; in *R.E.G.*, pl. ii., fig. 5; in *Scotichronicon*, p. 510.

Here again we have a very pretty niche with canopy and open tabernacle work at the sides. It contains a figure of St. Kentigern, with the nimbus, standing in his Pontifical robes, with mitre and crozier, and holding in his right hand a fish with a ring in its mouth. The fish is again represented on both sides of the lower compartment of the screen work. The family arms of Muirhead, on a bend three acorns, are on a shield in the lower part of the seal. The legend is *Sigillum Andree Epi. Glasguensis.* The seal is appended to a Melrose Charter, A.D. 1465; also to Document, No. 387; in *R.E.G.*, p. xii.

XIII. No. 13 is the seal of John Laing, 1473-1483. It is engraved in *Laing*, pl. xvii., fig. 3: in *R.E.G.*, pl. iii., fig. 3 (but erroneously called Bishop Cameron's seal); and in *Scotichronicon*, p. 511.

Three niches with canopies contain three figures; the centre one has St. Kentigern, standing, with a fish in his right hand, as in seal 12; the dexter one has a man with a long spear which he thrusts into the head of a man at his feet; the sinister one has the figure of St. Katherine, nimbed, with the wheel in her right hand. Below is a shield supported by two angels, with the arms, quarterly; first and fourth, a pale; second and third, three piles, for Laing.

The inscription is *S. Johis Epi. Glasguensis.* The seal was attached to a Deed, *R.E.G.*, No. 417, of date, 8th June, 1478. A note added says, "To "this document was appended a seal of red wax on white, shewing a Bishop "standing, with crozier and mitre, and robed in the chasuble, and by his side a "fish holding a ring in its mouth; on the dexter side is a figure of St. Michael "with the dragon; on the sinister side a figure of a female saint (perhaps of "St. Tenaw, the mother of St. Kentigern). Below are the family arms of the

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"Bishop quartered; first and fourth, *Scutum palis exaratum;* second and third, "*apicem scuti dentatum.*" On the sides are two angels as supporters.

XIV., XV. Nos. 14 and 15 are the seals of Bishop Blacader, 1484-1508. Both are engraved in *Laing*, pl. xvii., figs. 4 and 5; in *R.E.G.*, pl. iii., figs. 4 and 5; and in *Scotichronicon*, p. 513 and 514. The one is his seal whilst he was simple Bishop; the other is his seal after he was made Archbishop in 1488.

(*a*) In the earlier seal in a canopied niche is a figure of St. Kentigern, with the crozier longer than usual and slanting from the left to the right; on his right hand is a fish with a ring in its mouth. Below the figure is a shield bearing, on a chevron, three roses, the arms of Blacader. Above the shield is a mitre. The inscription is *S. Rotundum Roberti Epi. Glasgu.* It was appended to a Charter, A.D. 1491.

(*b*) No. 15. This is a remarkable fine seal with very rich canopy and elegant tabernacle works on the sides of the shafts bearing the canopy. Under the canopy is a full-length figure of St. Kentigern, with nimbus, but without mitre or crozier. He holds a book between his hands. On his left hand is the fish, represented larger than usual, with the gemmed ring through its upper jaw. Below the pedestal of the canopy bearing the arms of the Blacader family, and above the shield a cross fleury. The legend is *Sigillum Roberti Archiepi Glasguensis.*

It will already have occurred to many that we have in these two seals what corresponds with the carved work of Blacader in his two altars in the Cathedral. On the earlier one, to right of screen, is a rich mitre over his shield with the family arms; on the later one, to the left, is a cross over the shield. When an ecclesiastic is made Archbishop, he is said to receive the cross.

This seal is appended to a Charter of date 1500. It was also appended to deeds (*R.E.G.*), No. 468, of 31st May, 1494; No. 469; No. 471, of 27th Feb., 1495; No. 477, of 13th May, 1497; No. 481, of 3rd Oct., 1500; and No. 486, of 27th Jan., 1507.) To this last document is added a note, "*Sigillum "Roberti Archiepi ex cera rubea super alba, exhibens S. Kentigernum stantem "veteri casula indutum nudo capite, et Juxta ad latus piscem annulum ore tenen- "tem: inferius super scuto arma epi gentilitia, scilicet tria quinque-folia imposita "cantherio; superius e scuto prominet crux archiepiscopalis,*" ii., xxv.

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It may not be out of place to mention here two seals that, if not of this series, have some connection with Glasgow. They are the seals of Bishop William Elphinstone whom Glasgow gave to Aberdeen, and who became the founder of Aberdeen University in 1494. He retained his love for Glasgow, where he had been Vicar-General, and also Rector of the University. The two seals are engraved in *Laing*, pl. x., figs. 8 and 9.

(*a*) The first is a round seal with three canopied niches; in the centre one is the Blessed Virgin Mary with the Infant Jesus, both nimbed; in the dexter niche a Bishop; and in the sinister one St. Kentigern, holding in his left hand the crozier crosswise, and in his right hand the fish with ring in its mouth. Appended to a document, 28th August, 1490.

(*b*) The second is a very fine and elaborate large seal, pointed oval in shape. The design is the same as in the other, with the addition of two figures in the head of the centre canopy. *S. autentica Willelmi Epi. Aberdonen.* Appended to document, A.D. 1501.

XVI. No. 16 is the seal of the first Archbishop Beaton, 1509-1522. It is engraved in *R.E.G.*, pl, iv., fig. 1; and in Macgeorge's *Insignia*, p. 92.

It is a large round seal with canopy and tabernacle work at the sides. The full length figure of St. Kentigern is the same precisely as in seal No. 15, and the fish is in every way similar. The shield bears the arms of Beaton, quartered with Balfour, *i.e.*, *Quarterly*, 1st and 4th *azure*, a fess between three mascles, *or*, for Beaton; 2nd and 3rd *Argent*, on a chevron *sable*, an otter's head erased of the first, for Balfour. The inscription is *Sigillum Jacobi Archiepi Glasguensis.*

After presiding for fourteen years over the See of Glasgow, Archbishop Beaton was translated to St. Andrews, and the Primacy in 1522-1539. His seal and counter-seal as Archbishop of St. Andrews are described, without engravings, in *Laing*, No. 879 and 880.

XVII. No. 17 is the seal, and the private seal, of Archbishop Gavin Dunbar, 1522-1547. It is not engraved in *Laing*, but in *R.E.G.*, pl. iv., fig. 2; in *Macgeorge*, p. 93; and in *Scotichronicon*, with the private seal, p. 519.

Under a canopy, supported on spiral columns, with tabernacle work at the sides, somewhat like flying buttresses, is a figure of St. Kentigern, with the

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nimbus; in his left hand a very long crozier held crosswise, and in his right hand the fish with the ring. Below the pedestal of the canopy is a shield bearing three cushions, within a double tressure, flowered and counter-flowered; over the shield is a cross fleury.

The legend is *Sigillum Gavini Archiepi Glasguensis.*

The private seal of Dunbar is represented by a woodcut in *Scotichronicon*, p. 519. It is a small circular seal, containing a shield with the Dunbar arms as above; under the shield is a fish naiant on its back, *without* the ring, and above the shield is a cross Bottonné.

The legend is *Secretu Gavini Archiepi Glasguen.* Morton Charters, A.D. 1536.

The shield with the arms of Archbishop Dunbar, from the gateway he built at the Bishop's Castle, is illustrated in *Old Glasgow*, p. 110; in *Scotichronicon*, p. 522; and in *Glasghu Facies*, p. 75.

XVIII. No 18 is the seal of Archbishop James Beaton, the last and 24th of the Bishops of Glasgow, from the time of Jocelin, 1551-1603. It is engraved in *Laing*, pl. xxi., fig. 5; in *R.E.G.*, pl. iv., fig. 3; and in *Scotichronicon*, p. 527.

It is a large round seal, with elegant domed canopy and tabernacle work. The full-length figure of St. Kentigern is similar to that of seal No. 17. Below the pedestal is the shield of a debased pattern, with the arms, quarterly, of Beaton and Balfour, as in seal No. 16, and above the shield a cross Bottonné.

The legend has *Sigillum Jacobi Archiepiscopi Glasguen.*

His counter-seal is shewn in a woodcut in *Scotichronicon*, p. 527, as a small circular seal, with a shield, quarterly, of Beaton and Balfour. Above is a cross Bottonné; at the sides, his initials, "J. B."; and beneath it the fish *with* the ring. On a scroll surrounding the shield is the wording, "*Ferendum v . . . as.*" Morton Charters, A.D. 1566. As the Archbishop had now been six years in Paris, this may have been the seal of his referendary, or official charged with the duty of signing for him charters or deeds.

It will have been observed during the course of these remarks, as also from an examination of the illustrations of the seals, that in them the fish and ring are represented fourteen times, not counting the triple repetition of the fish in Bishop Muirhead's seal—the bird four times, the branch or twig but once, and the bell not at all. The question then arises: What is the

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meaning of the fish with a gemmed ring in its mouth, of the bird, and of the twig or branch?

(*a*) Does the fish with the ring allude to the legend of the Queen of Cadzow?—or does it not rather record the fact that the See of Glasgow derived a portion of its income from the salmon fisheries on the Clyde and other waters? In the *Free Rent of the Archbishopric of Glasgow, as given at the General Assumption in 1561*, we find mention of fourteen dozen of salmon.

(*b*) Is the bird, as is commonly supposed, meant to represent the tame robin, the favourite of St. Serf, that was accidentally killed by his disciples, who, to screen themselves, laid the blame on St. Kentigern, who then took the bird in his hand, made over it the sign of the Cross, whereon it was restored to life?

(*c*) Does the twig bear reference to the branch that St. Kentigern is said to have miraculously kindled into flame, when some of his companions, out of envy, extinguished the fire that had been committed to his keeping? (See chap. vi.)

As the designs for the seals of the community of Glasgow were adapted from the seals of the Bishops, we will give the probable origin and explanation of these emblems. An engraving of the ancient seal of the community of the city of Glasgow, used in the reign of Robert I., 1306-1329, in which the fish with the ring, the bird, the twig, and the bell appear, can be seen in *R.E.G.*, pl. v., fig. 3; in *Old Glasgow*, p. 94; and in Macgeorge's *Insignia*, p. 102.

(*a*) The fish is a very common sacred emblem. A plate in the *Arch. Journal*, 1885, p. 159, has two ancient gems with the fish. No. 4 represents a reversed anchor, with two fish hanging by their heads, one on each side of the stem. The fish is three times repeated in the seal of Bishop Andrew Muirhead. Three fishes are in the arms of Peebles. No. 9 represents a fish swimming, and holding in its mouth a twig. "Could it be intended," asks the writer, "to convey "that the fish (the Icthus or Christ) brings peace and happiness to the "believer, or is it the disciple who has received and holds that emblem "of his peace in Christ?" St. Zeno, Bishop of Verona, is represented in sculpture and in paintings with a fish suspended from his crozier.

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(See *Sacred and Legend Art*, p. 417.) Mrs. Jamieson explains the fish as an emblem of the rite of Baptism. As a general emblem of the Christian faith, the fish is seen upon the sarcophagi of the early Christians, on the tombs of the martyrs in the catacombs, on rings, coins, lamps, and other utensils, and as an ornament in early Christian architecture. St. Peter is often represented with a fish, and probably the emblem has a three-fold signification: *First*, in allusion to his former calling as a fisherman; *Second*, in allusion to his conversion to Christianity; and *Thirdly*, in allusion to his vocation as a Christian apostle, or fisher of men; according to the words of Christ, "Come ye after Me, and I will make you to be fishers of men."—Matt. iv. 19.

(*b*) A bird is also frequently represented on seals and gems. These birds are supposed to typify good Christians, or their spiritualised state in heaven. The Glasgow bird in connection with the tree may represent the faithful gathered into the church by St. Kentigern: "The birds of the air come and dwell in the branches thereof."—v. 32.

(*c*) A tree is often seen in old seals. Instances may be seen in some illustrations given in the *Arch. Journal*, 1885, p. 159, and described by Mr. Fortnum. He thinks the emblem is meant to represent the Tree of Life. In the Glasgow arms the tree may represent the tree grown from the mustard seed (Matt. xii., 32), as symbolical of the great results produced by Bishop Kentigern, from small beginnings.

That these three very common sacred emblems should have been used in the Glasgow seals on account of certain legends connected with St. Kentigern, seems very unlikely. This view is not affected by the fact that in one of the Episcopal seals of the old diocese of St. Andrews, the fish with the ring, and the bird, are used. For it is the seal of Bishop W. Lamberton, who was Bishop from 1297-1328, but who had been Chancellor of Glasgow. It is engraved in *Laing*, pl. xxi., fig. 2; and in *R.E.G.*, pl. vi., fig. 2.

(*d*) The bell is not represented in any of the Bishops' seals before us, but is seen in the seal of the chapter, A.D. 1321, figured in *Laing*, pl. xvi., fig. 2, p. 183; and also in the seal of the official Vicar-General of Glasgow, A.D. 1533, inscribed—*S. Officialatus Glasguensis*, engraved

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in *Laing*, pl. xxi., fig. 6, p. 185; and also in *R.E.G.*, pl. vi., fig. 9. The bell is also a not uncommon Christian emblem. St. Antony is represented with a bell. We would then suggest that the employment of these four emblems in connection with St. Kentigern, was meant to convey that he was sent as a fisher of men, that his work from small beginnings grew to very large dimensions, "like to a "grain of mustard seed, ... which is the least indeed of all "seeds, but when it is grown up . . . becometh a tree, so that "the birds of the air come and dwell in the branches thereof;" and that his name and fame became so great that he was heard of everywhere. "Verily, their sound hath gone forth into all the earth, and their words into the ends of the whole world."—Rom. x. 18.

One or two more remarks will bring this paper to an end.

1. In these Glasgow Episcopal seals a canopy over the head of St. Kentigern is first seen in the seal No. 7 of Robert Wishart; and the canopy, supported on shafts, first occurs in the seal of his successor, No. 8.
2. The crook of the crozier is turned outward, or from the figure in seals 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18; inward in large figure of seal 1, and in the small figures of the Bishops in seals 6, 7 (counterseal) and 8. The head or crook is plain till the time of Robert Wishart, and after then it is crocketed.
3. These seals, from Jocelin, 1175, to John Laing, 1473, were all of the pointed oval form; then the round seals commenced, and continued till 1560.
4. Some Scottish seals have a peculiarity not seen in English seals—*i.e.*, the Bishops are represented not with full face, but with three-quarter face; and they shew greater artistic power than English Episcopal seals.
5. Pl. 3, fig. 8, is the first seal that has a shield and heraldic bearings. Figs. 11, 16, and 18, shew the arms quartered. These families quartered the arms to preserve from oblivion those which have ended in an heiress.
6. The architectural ornaments on these seals, in the form of canopies,

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shafts, tabernacle work, and screen work, are useful and valuable illustrations of art. The rise, progress, and development of the beautiful architecture of the 12th to the 16th century, can be traced in the Episcopal seals. Seals No. 12, 14, 15, 16, and 17, shew that Bishops Muirhead, Blacader, James Beaton, and Dunbar, were men of very refined taste in art, and that the seals of Scotland did not yield in artistic beauty to any, but were in advance of those in many other places.

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No. IV.

BURGHEAD AS THE SITE OF AN EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH; WITH NOTICES OF THE INCISED BULLS AND THE BURNING OF THE CLAVIE:

BY

JAMES MACDONALD, LL.D., F.S.A.Scot.

[*Read at Meetings of the Society held on 18th April, 1889; 20th March, 1890; and 19th February, 1891.*]

THE promontory of Burghead is situated on the southern shore of the Moray Firth, the Breidafiord of the Norsemen, and terminates an irregular range of hills that stretch westward from the mouth of the Lossie, a distance of about nine miles. Inland runs a parallel range, with an intervening valley from two to four miles in breadth. Within historic times the greater part of the eastern half of this valley was occupied by Loch Spynie,* then an arm of the sea; and in the middle of the seventeenth century the Outlat Burn, a rivulet of the western half that enters the Firth more than a mile to the south-west of Burghead, fell into a small shallow loch that has since quite disappeared.† Thus at a time that a geologist would regard as not very remote, the range first mentioned was probably a narrow island. The coast afterwards trends suddenly away to the south, running for some distance in that direction but again sweeping westward so as to form the Bay of Burghead. Almost as far as Nairn, a level shore is more or less thickly studded with dunes of recent formation. Beyond the mouth of the river Findhorn these dunes are of great height and known as the Culbin and the Maviston Sandhills, the former of which cover what was once a fertile estate and are interesting not less to the geologist on account of their origin and ever-changing movements than to the archæologist for the variety and abundance of flint implements so frequently exposed by the agency of the wind. Beneath the Bay there lies

* See Map.

† Blaeu, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, etc. Pars Quinta:* Amsteldami, 1654. (Map of Moravia).

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what is usually, though not perhaps quite correctly, called a submarine fores After heavy gales masses of peat are cast on the beach. The same depos extends along the valley already described. At various localities in th western portion of it peat has been cut, within the memory of thos still living, in such quantities as to leave no doubt of its former abundance i the immediate neighbourhood of the headland. But besides the restrictions o its use, now commonly imposed by proprietors of the soil, and the greatl increased consumpt of coal, natural causes have led to the disuse of peat a an article of fuel by the people of the district. During the spring and summe months, the prevailing west and south-west winds fill the air with clouds o fine sand from the dunes on the coast from as far west as Culbin. Mound of such drift may be seen on Roseisle Hill after a storm, and there are knoll of sand covered with grass half way between Burghead and Newton. The whole surface of the valley shares in this shower of sand, unfailing for some centuries past and unceasing during many months of the year. The pea has thus become buried to a considerable depth in places where it onc formed the surface of the ground. In this way also the disappearance of the Outlat loch is easily explained.*

Along the whole southern sea-board of the Moray Firth, from Rattray Head on the east to Inverness on the west, Burghead was the only natural harbour; and it could be taken with almost every wind that blew. In consequence of this advantage we find it at a very early period an important fortress.

* In the silting up of the eastern half of the valley, these clouds of sand drift as well as the washing down of the land on all sides of Loch Spynie have no doubt greatly aided. But another agent has been at work. The Rev. Dr. Gordon, whose extensive knowledge of the natural history and antiquities of the North, accumulated during a long and honoured life, has been most ungrudgingly imparted to me whenever asked for, writes: "My idea is that "Spynie 'fiord' was made a lagoon, or gradually shut off from the main body of the sea "by the north-east storms driving the loose shingle before them, and forming those far-"spreading ridges that run from the Spey westwards all the way up the Firth, but are most "strongly marked near Lossiemouth. This process, which I have watched in company "both with Sir Charles Lyell and Sir Andrew Ramsay, is still going on. At several places "the ridges, which vary in height, are generally several feet above high water mark; "and were this barrier removed between the mouth of the Spey and the Lossie, the tide "would again run up to the Palace of Spynie, as it did through the canal in 1829, when the "sluice at Lossiemouth gave way."

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General Roy in his *Military Antiquities of the Romans in North Britain*, misled by the now discredited forgery, *De Situ Britanniæ*, identified it as the Ptoroton of that treatise, which is described as having been a Roman town, and the capital of a so-called Roman province of Vespasiana.* Naturally enough, in one who was not a classical scholar, he took Ptoroton to be a Latinised form of the Πτερωτὸν στρατόπεδον (Alata Castra,† the Winged Camp) of the Alexandrian geographer, Cl. Ptolemaeus,‡ which had previously been set down at places so far apart as Edinburgh and Tain. But there is not the slightest indication in Ptolemy, that the Winged Camp had any connection with the Romans, nor does history afford the least countenance to the idea that they had any permanent settlements in the north. A tribe which Ptolemy names the Οὐακομάγοι (Vacomagi), is said to have occupied a territory that, roughly speaking, stretched from the Spey on the east, to the Beauly Firth on the west, and as far south as the Grampian mountains and the sources of the Tay. They had four towns or strongholds—Bannatia,§ Tamia, the Winged Camp, and Tuesis. Of these the Camp must have been the most important; for in Ptolemy's description of the map of the British Isles, one of a set sometimes appended to his Geography, the Winged Camp is one of four places in the mainland of Albion, whose solstitial day and distance west from Alexandria in hours are given‖—the others being London, York, and a town called Caturactonium. From the latitude and longitude assigned to it, the Winged Camp must, however, if any dependence is to be placed on these, have stood—if not indeed on the promontory—at no great distance from it. Accordingly, Dr. W. F. Skene, while rejecting Roy's theory as untenable, still claims Burghead as the site of the ancient Vacomagan Camp or town;¶ and Prof. Müller, the latest editor of Ptolemy, gives it as a possible site, though he suggests Findhorn, nine miles to the south and west, as an alternative one.** A full consideration of the whole question raises issues, the

* Roy's *Military Antiquities of the Romans in North Britain*, pp. 131-32: London, 1793.
† Pinnata Castra,—Müller. ‡ *Cl. Ptol. Geog.*, Lib. ii. Cap. 3, § 8.
§ In the names of these towns the text of Prof. Müller, of Göttingen, has been followed.
‖ *Cl. Ptol. Geog.* Lib. viii., Cap. 2, § 9.
¶ Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. 1, p. 74: Edinburgh, 1876.
** Müller, *Cl. Ptol. Geog.* vol. 1., p. 93: Paris, 1883.

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discussion of which cannot now be attempted. It must suffice to say that the Cluny Hills, Forres, or the Doune Hill of Relugas, near the junction of the Divie and the Findhorn, are sites either of which seems to fulfil more exactly than Burghead the necessary conditions.

If we turn to our early Scottish chroniclers, where we may reasonably expect to get some information on the point, we shall look in vain for a satisfactory answer to the question—When and under what circumstances did Burghead become a stronghold? And all the local historians have in their notices of it either overlooked or misread the greater part of the fragmentary materials that were available for their purpose, presenting us with a record that is either incomplete or misleading. Nor will its antiquities, as usually explained, afford us a much surer guide. It is only by comparing what we can gather from all possible sources, and by dealing inferentially with the whole, that we can hope to arrive at any trustworthy conclusions regarding various difficulties that are sure to arise in any independent study of the history and antiquities of the place.

In a communication read before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in June 1861, and published in Vol. IV. of their *Proceedings*,* I reviewed somewhat exhaustively all that up to that time had been written on Burghead, giving, at the same time, a full account of its military antiquities and endeavouring to trace their bearing on its probable history. Renewed consideration of the subject after the lapse of so many years, has confirmed me in most of the opinions that were then advanced. Some of the inferences drawn from the result of excavations made at the time, would now be expressed in less confident terms, or merely stated as probable. But there seems no reason for departing from the main conclusions then arrived at. Apart from the fortifications, little was said of the antiquities, except what was necessary in describing them. It was pointed out that the fragments of sculptured crosses, found in or near the old burying-ground, known from time immemorial as the Chapel-yard, showed that Burghead had been in early times the site of a Christian church. Some addition may now, it is believed, be made to what was then stated under this head, and reasons can be

* *Pro. Soc. of Antiq. of Scot.*, vol. iv., pp. 321-369: Edinburgh, 1863.

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given for connecting with the church that remarkable cistern which has been generally described as a well, and sometimes as a bath.* Regarding the Incised Bulls and the Burning of the Clavie, no opinion whatever was hazarded. But our knowledge of the archæology of Scotland and other countries, as well as of the customs and beliefs common to various nations when in a primitive state of society, has been so largely increased of late years, that it appears to be at last possible to throw some light on the purpose and meaning of these hitherto mysterious relics of the past. Accordingly, in the communication now made to the Archæological Society of Glasgow, I shall endeavour to supplement in regard to the Church, the "Well," the Bulls, and the Clavie, the paper formerly read before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The questions to be dealt with would easily admit of treatment by themselves. They may, however, be better understood if accompanied by brief notices of what else can be told regarding Burghead.

We first meet with the place under its present name in the so-called "History of Scotland," by Hector Boece, who represents it as having been taken and besieged by the "Danes" in the reign of Malcolm II.† There are reasons for believing that the account he gives contains certain elements of truth, though, after his usual fashion, he mingles fact and fiction and sets chronology at defiance. At all events, the headland was fortified long before the date to which Boece refers; and we can be at no loss to find sufficient reason why this should have been done. As long as the country was subject only to internal disturbances, hill forts of stone and earth, on suitable eminences, were the most natural means of protection for the natives. When, however, its coasts became exposed to the ravages of an enemy approaching them by sea, these were no longer sufficient. Such an enemy was the Norseman. The time at which his galleys first appeared in the Moray Firth cannot be indicated with certainty. No descent in force is recorded to have been made on its shores till towards the close of the ninth century. But centuries earlier there might have been occasional piratical attacks on the islands and mainland of the north. It is matter of history that as early as the fifth

* G. Chalmers, *Caledonia*, vol. ii., Pref., p. viii., London: 1810; H. W. Young, of Burghead, *Pro. Soc. of Antiq. of Scot.* N.S. Vol. xii., pp. 147-156: Edinburgh, 1891.

† Boece, *Scotorum Historia, &c.*, p. 240 et seq.: Parisiis, 1574.

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century swarms of Jutes, Angles, and Saxons had settled on the shores of England; and there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the appearance of a Norse galley, that had been fitted out for plunder, may have spread alarm from time to time along the shores of the Firth, long before the ninth century, and led to precautionary measures of defence. For this there was no position on the whole of its southern seaboard so suitable as Burghead. Leaving the coast line with a breadth of about 1150 feet, it projects boldly into the sea for more than a third of a mile, the breadth gradually decreasing to 400 feet. From the neighbouring Clarkly Hill the ground slopes rapidly downwards, so that at the neck of the promontory its elevation above high water mark is not more than five feet. There is then a gentle and continuous ascent on the southern side of the headland, till, on reaching its extremity, we find ourselves at a height of at least 80 feet. A layer of sand several feet in depth covers the whole surface and rests on a bed of reptiliferous sandstone rock, the true affinities of which are still a subject of dispute among geologists. Only a slight rise takes place on the northern side. Burghead thus becomes finally divided into two distinct areas or terraces, the upper of which measures 380 feet in length by 250 in breadth, and the lower 650 feet by about 160.* It thus offers very obvious natural facilities for defence against an enemy assailing it either by land or sea; while as a landing-place, in most states of the wind and tide, it has, as already stated, no equal in the north. Quite as noteworthy is the situation of Burghead with respect to the rest of the country. It commands an extensive view of the seaboard of the Moray Firth from the mouth of the Lossie to the Ord of Caithness. A beacon fire lit on the promontory could have been instantly answered from the hill tops of what now comprises eight Scottish counties.

But it is from its ecclesiastical antiquities that we derive our earliest certain knowledge of Burghead. The fragments of sculptured crosses referred to above may, giving them as much latitude of date as possible, be safely assigned to the period between the eighth and eleventh centuries; and the inference

* These figures are only approximate. Great alterations have been made on the headland since it was surveyed by Roy.

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from their presence is inevitable. There are here undoubted traces of an ecclesiastical foundation so ancient that it had become a ruin in the very dawn of authentic history. This again carries us back to the Columban Church. If we may judge from other known instances, Burghead was chosen as a site for this church in consequence of its being then a native Pictish stronghold, or circular stone fort; and this furnishes us with a clue that leads us back another step, if not to the beginning of its history.

Whether it was Columba himself, or some of his disciples, that first preached Christianity in Moray, we can never know. According to the legend in the Book of Deer, the Saint, soon after the conversion of King Brude, whom he visited in his palace near Inverness in the year A.D. 565, made his way to Buchan and there founded the monasteries of Aberdour and Deer. We are left to conjecture whether he reached Buchan by sea, or in the course of a missionary crusade among the Northern Picts, when he may have passed through Moray. A grant of land somewhere near Burghead, for the support of the little Christian colony, which, as we have seen, was then, or soon afterwards, planted there, must have been made at this time. This is probably still testified to by the College of Roseisle and by Unthank, respectively two and four miles to the eastward, at both of which there were ecclesiastical buildings of a very early date, occupied, we may believe, by detachments of the brethren employed in the labours of the field.

Among the miraculous incidents told by Adamnan in his life of Columba, and intended to bring vividly before us the extent of the latter's journeyings, there is the following:—"One night before the birth of the Saint, an angel appeared to his mother in a dream, bringing her a certain robe of extraordinary beauty. After a short time, he asked it back and, having raised it and spread it out, he let it fly through the air. As it gradually receded in its flight, it expanded until it exceeded the plains in width and the mountains and forests in breadth. The angel thereupon forbade her to grieve for its loss, assuring her that she would bring forth a son of a character so beautiful that he would be reckoned as one of the people of God, and that he was predestined to be the leader of innumerable souls to the heavenly country."*

**Life of Saint Columba*, pp. 194-195; edited by Dr. Wm. Reeves: Edinburgh, 1874.

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In a note on this passage, Dr. Reeves (now Bishop of Down) states that in an ancient Irish Memoir of St. Columba, which he considers as old as the tenth century, the robe is described as a large cloak, which reached from the islands of Modh to Caer-na-mBroc, "that is from Inishymoe, on the group of islands in Clew Bay, on the coast of Mayo, to the north-east coast of Scotland, probably to Burg-Head."* This is but a conjecture. It is, however, all the more remarkable that at the time it was made Dr. Reeves was not likely aware that there had been till lately ruins of an early Christian church on the headland.†

Of the fragments of crosses found at Burghead, one (Pl. I. fig. 1), has been sent for the present by Mr. H. W. Young of Burghead, to the National Museum, Edinburgh; and another (Pl. I. fig. 2) is in the Elgin Museum. In both of them the art is pure and the execution delicate. Fig. 1 shows the interlaced and scroll work so common on the sculptured crosses of Pictland and the Irish MSS. of the Gospels—significant proof in itself of a close connection between the churches of the two countries. The other sculpture (Fig. 2) is after a well-known Greek pattern; and its occurrence here and elsewhere in Scotland lends some support to the traditionary tales of an early intercourse with the Christian East. "When in Elgin lately," writes a friend,‡ "I examined with great interest the fragments of Christian sculpture from Burghead, now in the Museum there. The interlaced pattern and the Greek fret I saw in a great many old service books in the Ecclesiological Museum at Athens; and the same style of ornament is executed to this day by the country masons for the village churches in the Peninsula of Pelion." A similar form of decoration is not uncommon in the churches and museums of North Italy. Dr. Joseph Anderson has drawn attention to this, taking special notice of "the perfection of inter-

*Ib., p. 284. A translation of this Life is given in the Appendix to *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., where the "garment" is said to have reached "from Innsi-mod to Caer-nam-brocc." *Caer* is evidently the Irish Cathir, meaning a town, but more generally a circular stone fort. *Brocc* in this connection I leave to Celtic etymologists.

†Since, according to the Book of Deer, Columba's spiritual labours extended eastwards as far as Aberdour, it may be doubted whether Burghead was Caer-nam-Brocc. The first part of the designation seems to have been as applicable to the site of his Aberdour monastery, which is believed to have stood on a promontory that had been fortified and separated from the mainland by trenches.

‡The Rev. James Cooper, Aberdeen.

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laced patterns" on the doorway of the atrium of the church of S. Ambrogio, in Milan—a doorway "attributed to the tenth century;" and of the fragment of a Lombard pillar bearing interlaced work, with "an inscription to the memory of Archbishop Theodore, who died A.D. 739."*

Fig 3 of the same Plate represents a hunting scene. It was dug up in the Chapel-yard, about fifty years ago, and remained for a long time built into the surrounding wall. Recently it has been removed by the proprietor and placed under glass in the harbour office, along with some other sculptures. The figure of the deer is executed with remarkable fidelity and spirit. That it was connected in some way with the church can hardly be doubted, and one is reminded by it of what Dr. Anderson tells us of the Church of San Remo at Verona. "This church," he writes, "is a basilica of Lombard "style, the existing fabric dating from about the middle of the twelfth century, "but erected on the site of a ninth century church. A series of sculptures "on either side of the doorway are arranged in panels. . . ." Those on one of the sides are Old Testament stories. "But the two lower panels " . . . are filled with a hunting scene—in the right panel is a stag chased "by three hounds, one of which fastens on its flank, while in the left panel "comes the pursuing horseman, blowing a hunting horn. . . . The "special interest of these sculptured panels is the occurrence of a hunting "scene and combats along with the purely scriptural representations around "the doorway of a church, shewing that there is no incongruity in similar "associations of hunting scenes with Scriptural representations on the "sculptured stones of Scotland."† Mr. Young informs me that, now that the stone has been removed from the church-yard wall, it is found to have "a hole "in the back of it one inch in diameter and fully an inch deep, as if for fixing "it into a wall."‡

*Pro. Soc. of Antiq. of Scot., N.S., Vol. xii., pp. 498-9.

†*Ib.*, p. 508. See also p. 167 for the significance of the stag-hunt in Christian symbolism.

‡Figs. 4 and 5, Pl. I. are two small fragments represented on Plate cviii. of the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, Vol. ii., and said to be from Burghead. These I have been unable to trace. Fig. 2, Pl. II. was picked up last summer in the Chapel-yard, by Mr. Young. As the sculpture is somewhat debased, it is probably of a much later date than the other pieces. It looks as if it were part of the shaft of a free cross. I owe to the taste and skill of Mrs. Young the photographs of it, of the hunting scene, and of two of the Bulls, from which the artist worked who prepared the Plates.

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Fig. 1 (Pl. II.) and the Bulls (Pl. IV. and Pl. V.) are less apparently ecclesiastical in their character and of more uncertain date. But of upwards of eighty similarly incised fragments in Vols. I. and II. of the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, more than a half have been got beside, or in the neighbourhood of sites of, old churches; and few, if any, of the rest are believed to occupy now their original positions. Fig. 1 (Pl. I.) is cut on the same stone as fig. 1 (Pl. II.), but on its other side. It is not likely, therefore, to be of the same age, though it may be either earlier or later. On the opposite side of the Firth, at Golspie, there is a stone (Pl. II., figs. 3 and 4) sculptured on both sides in a similar way. A native on the incised side bears a strong likeness in the shape of his beard and head-dress to the figure on the Burghead stone. "This," says Dr. John Stuart, "is altogether a very remarkable monument;" * and the Burghead one must have been not less so. Again, a stone at Edderton, Ross-shire, has two mounted warriors incised in its lowest compartment, with shields of the same kind as the Burghead warrior, who, apparently, is also on horseback; while above them a cross, cut in relief, rests on a circle that encloses an unarmed horseman, emblems of peace surmounting, and, as it were, displacing the earlier portraiture of war. Both the Golspie and Edderton crosses belong to old churchyards. Judging from the

* The Rev. Dr. Joass of Golspie, to whose kindness I owe photographs of this stone, writes:—"The stone was taken about 50 years ago from the old disused church-yard of "Culmaillie-Kirkton and set up in the church-yard of Golspie for preservation. Culmaillie "was the old name of the Parish of Golspie, which received its present name about 1620, "when the Parish Church was transferred to the former Chapel of St. Andrew here. There "was a small township named Craigton contiguous on the west to Culmaillie-Kirkton, and "probably at first a part of it. Two stones, figured on Pls. xxxii., xxxiii. of the *Sculptured Stones* "*of Scotland*, Vol. I., were found on the low ground of Craigton nearest to Kirkton. There "is also a good eird-house at the hillfoot, in which was a spearhead, shale finger-ring, &c. All "these stones are now in the Museum at Dunrobin Castle. The cross-face of the large "one, brought from Golspie Church-yard, had been picked and rubbed down all around "the border to receive a modern inscription. The Ogham inscription, which seems "contemporary, should, if understood, throw some light upon the symbolism of the "incised face. The Earl of Southesk makes it to read:—'ALLDALL D(e)QQAADD "M(a)QQ NUUFFHRRI—(A)NN;' 'Alldall Degad, son of Nur, or Nuri (rests) here' "(*Pro. Soc. Antiq. of Scot. Vol. VIII: N.S., p. 23.*) Another version is:—'ALL "DALLORR EADD MACQNIOFOLHR RIE CHAT;' 'The stone of the axe-bearer (ambassador) "Ead (modern Aodh = Hugh) son of Niofolhr, King of Catt (land).' There are some very

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remarks of Cordiner, who visited Burghead in 1776, there must have been sculptured stones in the Chapel-yard that have now disappeared. "One place "in the fort," he says, "is marked as a burying-ground by many moss-grown "grave-stones. If there has ever been any sculpture on them it is mostly "worn away. On one there is a cross, undefaced and in good relief; on "others there seem to be some vestiges of figures and animals; but their "truth is too suspicious to admit of any representation." *

Before passing on, it is necessary to notice briefly the particular area within which the class of monuments to which the Burghead sculptures belong, appears to be confined, as well as the types into which these monuments are to be divided.

The Eastern portion of Scotland North of the Forth contains almost all the known examples of the group. Three types may be distinguished. The earliest consists of unshaped slabs bearing in incised work certain symbols, the meaning of most of which remains a mystery. These symbols are often associated with figures of animals, some of them highly conventional. The animals again are sometimes found without the symbols.

"curious stories throughout the Highlands connected with two heroes, one of whom, the '*Gobha* "*crom*' (lame or bent blacksmith) may be, through Wayland Smith, connected with Vulcan. "His feats of swordsmanship were only excelled by the axe-wielding *Taillear dubh na* "*Tuaidhe*, usually rendered 'the black or tawny tailor of the axe.' From fireside stories, "the ordinary weaver and tailor were not in the Highlands men of much repute; and I "cannot help thinking that the Taillear dubh was no Knight of the Thimble, but the bearer "of an official name connected with the axe as a badge of authority; 'Tal' now meaning "'adze,' and 'fhear' (aspirated 'fear'), pronounced 'er,' 'a man.' In Celtic places where "the Norse element is felt, 'a' is often changed into 'o,'—*e.g.*, 'Dal' into 'Dol,' 'Ard' "into 'Ord,' 'Ramh' into 'Romh;' and so, perhaps, 'Tal-ear' became 'Tal-eor.' Northern "Oghams change 't' into 'd,' and double the letters. Hence, perhaps, DALLORR, the axe-"man, either *ex officio*, or for prowess and special skill with his weapon. Ritson gives a list "of Pictish Royal names in which Tallore and Tallorgan appear six or seven times. I used "to think there might be some connection. It is rather against this reading, and in favour "of Lord Southesk's, that Oghams generally tell but the names of a man and his father, "ending with 'here,'—'rests' or 'lies' being understood. If the legend be read as on a "continual straight line, unbending the corner, RIE CHAT seems right. But if the supposed "upper side of the 'stem-line' is changed at said corner from the inside to the outside of the "edge-line—*i.e.*, stem-line—then the last word may be ANN, 'here.'"

* Cordiner, *Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland*, p. 59: London, 1780.

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The second type is composed of regularly shaped slabs elaborately ornamented in relief as well as in incised work. They generally bear the symbol of the Cross, accompanied in many cases by the same symbols and figure subjects as the preceding type. There are also scenes from Scripture depicted on them, such as Daniel in the Den of Lions. Both types are almost restricted to the area already mentioned. They are most thickly dotted over Forfar and the eastern part of Perthshire, but are not uncommon from the southern shore of Fife to the Moray Firth as far west as Inverness. It is worthy of being noted that this is exactly the portion of Scotland that was occupied by the Northern and Southern Picts. A few specimens, however, are scattered along the seaboard of Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, and there are several examples in Orkney and Shetland, all of which are portions of the country that were once peopled by the Picts.

Besides those two types, there is a third, generally of large size, which, instead of being slabs, are real crosses hewn out of solid stone, and standing in sockets or pedestals. The number of these found within ancient Pictland is few; and unlike the others they are not confined to it.*

About the approximate date and character of these sculptured stones, or at least of the greater part of them, there can be no doubt. They have been most ably treated of by Dr. Anderson in his Rhind Lectures for 1880, to which all who wish for information regarding them must be referred.† He has conclusively shown that they are Christian, and marked by features of their own, which entitle them to rank as belonging to a distinct school of art. At the same time, the origin of the interlaced work and of many of the pictorial subjects with which they are ornamented can be traced to the Catacombs of Rome, the Illuminated Gospels, and the Divine Bestiaries of the Middle Ages.

Whether *all* the sculptures of the earliest type are monuments of Christian times is perhaps open to dispute. Dr. Stuart seems to think that

* Mr. Romilly Allen, who is at present preparing a complete descriptive Catalogue of the Early Sculptured Stones of Scotland, includes the stones of only the first and second of those types. He divides them into three classes, as follows:—(1), Slabs, &c., with symbols incised; (2), crosses, &c., with symbols and Celtic ornament, sculptured in relief; (3), crosses, &c., with Celtic ornament, but without symbols. (*Pro. Soc. Antiq. of Scot.* (N.S.). Vol. xii., pp. 510-525.)

† *Scotland in Early Christian Times (Second Series)*: Edinburgh, 1881.

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some of them may be Pagan. On the other hand Dr. Anderson argues strongly for the view that they are Christian; and few will be disposed to call in question his opinion on such a subject. "We may find," he says, "the cover of the cist, a rude, unshapely block, sculptured on its underside with cups and circles, or with triangles and rudely formed spirals. But we have never found in Scotland any monument erected over a pagan grave, which exhibits the least approach to a truly artistic decoration. The custom of erecting such monuments is Christian and Christian only, so far as Scotland is concerned, and the art they exhibit, and the letters they bear were brought into this country with the copies of the gospels, from which Christianity was taught to the people."* The fact that we have no earlier expression of pagan ideas left us on stone may, I think, be easily explained. Except perhaps in the case of their dry-built stone forts, wood was the chief, if not the only, material used by the ancient Picts for buildings above ground. In particular, the art of engraving on stone was probably unknown. But in A.D. 717, Nectan, then King of the Northern Picts, was brought over along with his people from the usages peculiar to the Columban Church, as regards the time of the celebration of Easter and the tonsure, to conformity with the Church of Rome. One of his first acts was to request the Abbot of Jarrow to send him masons who could build him a church of stone *juxta morem Romanorum.* To this contact with a higher civilization may be due that astonishing development of artistic taste so soon shown in the sculptured stones of Pictland. The taste, no doubt, was there before, but was obliged to gratify itself on less enduring materials than stone. It is only when the artists have engraved their designs on the rock that their work has become known to us by the fragments, unfortunately few and disjointed, that past ages have spared to us.

But by far the most interesting, as it is the most perfect, of the ecclesiastical antiquities of Burghead, is a reservoir cut out of the solid rock (Pl. III.), the use of which has hitherto remained a matter of doubt. Though it may often have served both purposes, there are objections to its being regarded as a well, and others not less strong to the theory that it was originally

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**Scotland in Early Christian Times (Second Series)*, p. 133.

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intended for a bath. Some years ago Dr. Anderson, whose valuable aid at all times I cannot too warmly acknowledge, stated to me that in his opinion it had been connected with the early church. More recently he indicated the direction in which this connection might be looked for. A careful examination of the facts which, acting on the hint thus given, I have been able to collect, satisfies me that the reservoir is almost beyond question an ancient sacred font or baptistery. And if it be so, it is the one such relic of the ancient Scottish Church that has come down to our times.

The student of Church History is aware that during the earlier centuries baptism by immersion was the rule, in the case of adults at least, and that as the rite was not administered except at Easter, Pentecost, and Epiphany, latterly indeed only at the first two of these, crowds often assembled to take part in the solemnity. We can thus see that where a river or pool was not available, a building separate from the church became a necessity. Hence the origin of those structures known as baptisteries, for the construction of which, as early as the time of Constantine the Great, there is ample evidence. They were generally built of stone, and at no great distance from the church or basilica. The principal part was the font or piscina, circular, octagonal, hexagonal, or any convenient shape. Often there was also an apartment in which catechumens might receive instruction, or even synods be held. But this adjunct, though useful, was by no means essential. Round the piscina was a ledge; and one or two steps led down into the water.

Martigny's description of the piscina is as follows:—"In the centre of the building was a stone basin (*une cuve*) round, or in the form of a cross. (The top of) this basin was on a level with the pavement; it was reached by descending three steps (*degrés*) on the right side; there were three other steps (*marches*) on the left for going out, and a seventh in the centre, where doubtless the priest stood who administered the rite. It was the image of the tomb of Our Lord, of which baptism is the symbol. 'Therefore we are buried with him by baptism.' (Rom. vi. 3). This is the reason why baptismal vessels (*les vasques baptismales*) had sometimes the shape of a tomb."* "Immersions," says another writer, "with which the rite of baptism was in the earlier

* Art. *Baptistères: Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chretiennes.* Par M. L'Abbé Martigny, Paris, 1865.

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"centuries invariably performed, were considered as typical of dying to the "world."*

Numerous examples of such baptisteries are still to be seen on the Continent; and the recorded existence of one at Canterbury proves that they were not unknown in England. It should be added that the rite of baptism was usually administered by the bishop, and hence baptisteries, except at Rome, are for the most part found attached to the chief church of the diocese. Traces of them are most frequent between the 4th and the 9th centuries. As baptism came to be performed by sprinkling, both in the case of adults and of infants, a font in the Church was most convenient.

Not much precise information has come down to us regarding the services of the early Scottish Church. We have no grounds, however, for supposing that it differed with respect to baptism by immersion from the other churches of Christendom. *Fontes Sancti*, therefore, natural or artificial, it must have had; and it is not unlikely that some of the baths mentioned in the lives of Scottish saints, such as that which St. Cuthbert is said to have hewn for himself out of the rock in Strathtay, and in which, according to tradition, he spent whole nights in prayer, immersed in water, as well as some of the holy wells of later times, were at first baptismal fonts. At Burghead no water for performing the rite by immersion was available within a very considerable distance. Accordingly, as the church there grew in importance, and as intercourse with the Continent led, as we have seen it did, to the substitution of stone for wooden churches all over Scotland, the excavation of this baptistery at a spot where a spring rising from the rock gave indication that water was to be had, would naturally follow. If we regard it as such, all its peculiarities of shape and design are at once accounted for.

In the Paper† already referred to, a full description will be found of the cistern as well as an account of the circumstances that led to its discovery after it had been filled up for many centuries. The following are its dimensions:—greatest breadth of the four sides of the basin, 10 ft. 8 in., 11 ft., 10 ft. 10 in., and 10 ft. 7 in. respectively; depth, 4 ft. 4 in. The sides of the

* Art. *Baptistery: Dictionary of Christian Antiquities.* Vol. I. Edited by Dr. Wm. Smith and Professor Cheetham: London, 1875.

† *Pro. Soc. of Antiq. Scot.*, vol. iv. pp. 351-354.

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chamber measure 16 ft. 3 in., 16 ft. 7 in., 16 ft. 9 in., and 17 ft.; and its height from the ledge upwards is 11 ft. 9 in., the latter marked A (Pl. III.) being about 2 ft. 6 in. broad. In the south-east corner—the innermost to the left-hand on entering—a portion of the rock has been left in the form of a semi-circular pedestal (E), 2 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 10 in. in breadth and 1 ft. 2 in. in height; while in that diagonally opposite there is a circular hole.* Two steps (G and H) in the centre, the second turned to the left, lead down into the basin. They are of irregular shape and rude workmanship. The sides of the chamber are fissured and rent as shewn in the section (at C). Portions of the rock have given way from time to time, and have been replaced by modern masonry. The arch over the entrance, as well as the arched roof, both of which strangers often conclude to have been of equal antiquity with the cistern, were built in 1810, shortly after the "Well" was discovered.

During the general up-turn that took place at Burghead in the years 1805-9, in the course of improvements then made on the harbour and village, sculptures of a somewhat different type from any of those already described were brought to light. These were small boulder slabs, each incised with the figure of a bull. Three that are entire have been preserved; and portions of three others that were then disinterred—though again put out of sight—have been lately recovered. The earliest record of the discovery is the following note appended to the engraving of a bull in the *Archæologia*, Vol. XVI.:—"May 11th, 1809. "Mr. Carlyle exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries of London an impression "of a bull taken with moistened paper from a stone found at Burghead, "Scotland, where there are many others of the same description."

* It is not improbable that this pedestal was intended to support a one-pillared table for the use of the officiating clergyman, if not as the basis of a portable altar, so that in accordance with a not unusual practice in early Christian times, the Eucharist might be immediately administered to the baptized. Though stone afterwards became the canonical material for altars in the Western Church, and the tomb-like form their authorized type, the earliest were simply flat tables of wood or stone. Martigny *(s.v. Autel)* gives a woodcut of a variety of the table form with only one leg, which could easily have been adapted to suit the corner of the Burghead basin. Till we are certain that the circular hole in the opposite corner was a necessary part of the original, and not a subsequent addition having no reference to the baptistery, its use need not be discussed.

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Fig. 1 (Pl. IV.) is this bull. The original had somehow found its way into the garden of Mr. Sowerby, formerly Secretary of the Royal Botanical Society of London. On reading the *Historical Notices* in the *Proceedings*,* the late Sir Walter Trevelyan, Bart., wrote me that he knew of a bull which had been long in the garden of a friend of his, exactly similar to those there described, though no one could tell where it had come from. When afterwards compared with the drawing in the *Archæologia*, it was seen to be the one sent from Burghead to London in 1809. Meantime, Sir Walter had advised Mr. Sowerby to present it to the British Museum, where it now is. It is not in either of Dr. John Stuart's volumes. A figure of it copied from the *Archæologia* was given in the *Notices*, but Dr. Stuart was probably not aware that the original was still in existence and so overlooked it. The size of the stone is 21 inches by 21, and the figure of the animal is 15½ inches in length.†

Fig. 2 (Pl. IV.) represents a bull that stood for many years in the garden of Mr. Thomas Milne, Elgin, to whose father it had been presented by Mr. W. Young of Burghead. It was unknown to Dr. Stuart when collecting the materials for his first volume, but was figured in the *Notices*. Attention having been thus called to it, Mr. Milne's heirs sent it to the Elgin Museum. It is fortunate this was done, for other sculptures that were along with it in the same garden have now disappeared. The stone measures 20 inches in length by 14 inches in breadth.

The original of Fig. 1 (Pl. V.) is believed to have been a gift made by Mr. Young in 1825 through Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Bart., to the Museum of an Inverness Association for the Promotion of Science and Literature. This Museum was soon afterwards overtaken by the fate that has so often befallen local collections of antiquities and has led to the loss of many articles of great value: the necessary public support failed and it was dispersed in all directions. Luckily, the bull fell into the hands of Mr. George Anderson, Solicitor, joint-author of the well-known *Guide to the Highlands of Scotland*, and a man of antiquarian tastes and wide culture. Like those in London and Elgin, it was put into a garden. Suspecting the interest attached to it, Mr. Anderson

* *Pro. Soc. of Antiq. of Scot.*, Vol. iv., pp. 321-329.

† [The Secretaries of the G.A.S. have to thank Mr. A. W. Franks, C.B., of the British Museum, for sending them a "squeeze" of this bull.]

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brought it under the notice of Dr. Stuart, and it accordingly appeared in the *Sculptured Stones*, Vol. I.—the only piece of sculpture from Burghead of which the latter knew at the time. Lately, in order to guard it from further danger, Mr. Anderson's representatives have placed it in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, for exhibition and preservation. The stone is 27 inches by 13 inches.

The fourth bull (Fig. 2, Pl. V.) was found at Burghead in 1862, by a workman engaged in laying rails along the south quay, in ground that had evidently been made up with materials carried from the old ramparts. The head was smashed by the pick-axe of the navvy who unearthed it. This bull, which is figured in the *Sculptured Stones*, Vol. II., is now in the Harbour Office, Burghead. The stone is 19 inches long by 12 inches broad.

The fragment of the fifth bull (Fig. 3, Pl. V.) was found at Burghead in 1867, in the wall of an old house that was being pulled down. It is also in the Harbour Office there. When entire it was probably about the same length and breadth as the fourth.

The sixth bull (Fig 4, Pl. V.) which like the fifth, is represented only by a fragment, was dug up in 1884 on the South Quay, in the course of some alterations. It is in the Elgin Museum. When complete its size had been very similar to that of the fourth and sixth bulls. Both fragments are figured in recent volumes of the *Proceedings*.

The stones on which all these bulls are cut are flat, water-worn, sandstone boulders, picked up, it would seem, on the adjoining shore. None of them appear to have formed part of any larger piece of sculpture or to have been built into a wall. They vary in length from 27 to 20 inches, and in thickness from 3 to 6 inches. The figure of the animal has been made to some extent to suit the shape of the stone. While there is a general resemblance between them all, the attitude varies in each. It will be observed that they differ in size from almost all the other sculptured stones of North-eastern Scotland. They differ also in the number of examples of the same animal met with in a particular locality. The statement in the *Archæologia* on this last point is confirmed by independent evidence. The late Mr. Robert Carruthers, editor of the *Inverness Courier*, and an intimate acquaintance of Mr. Young's, thus refers to the bulls in his *Highland Note-Book*:—"In digging at the time of

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PLATE I.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

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PLATE II.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

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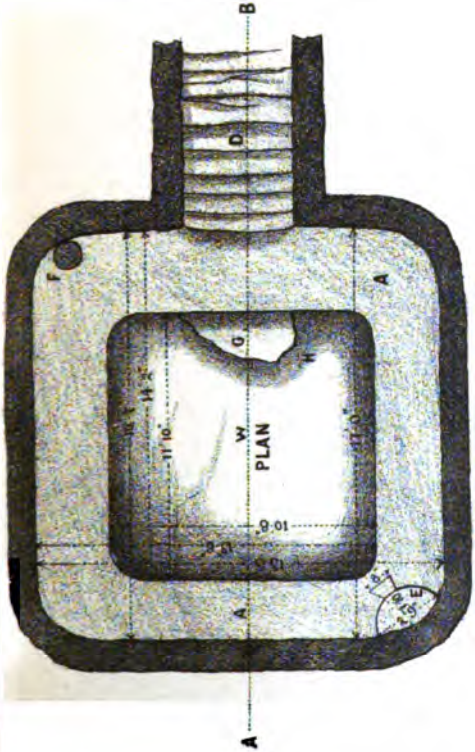
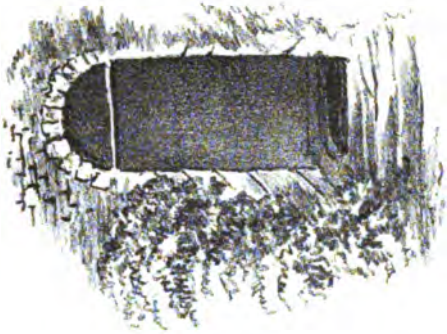
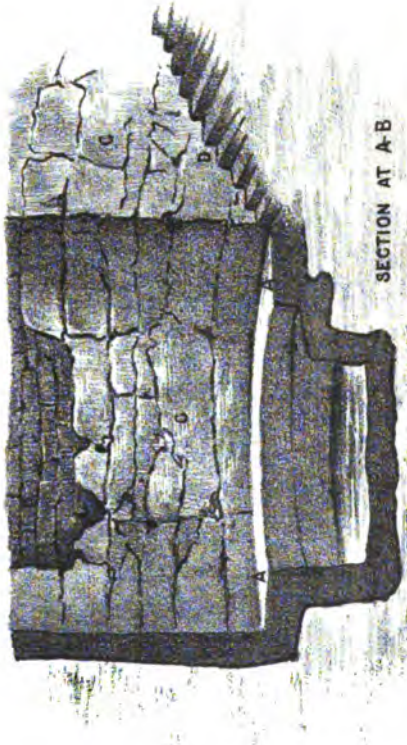
PLATE III.

Rock Cut Cistern at BURGHEAD.





DOORWAY WITH MODERN ARCH.



SECTION AT A-B

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PLATE IV.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

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PLATE V.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 4.

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PLATE VI.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

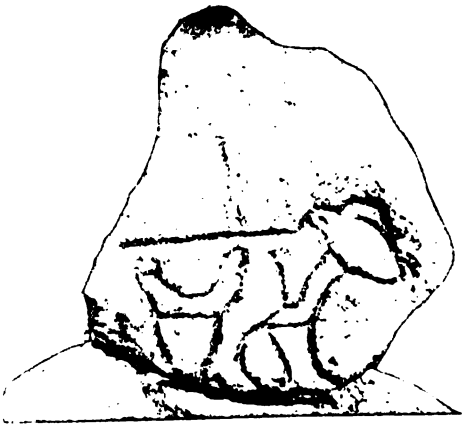

Fig. 3.

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the erection of the harbour, the worthy proprietor informed us his men found about thirty small figures of bulls cut in stone."* No more exact record than this has been preserved of the circumstances under which they were discovered. It has been said that at least one of them was got in clearing out the "Well." On the other hand, a fisherman, who was a boy in 1809, and remembered the removal of the rampart, once pointed out to me the North-east corner of the upper terrace as the place where they were dug up. One might expect that they would all have been found as nearly as possible together, but this may not have been the case; and a sufficient explanation, if such be needed, is the many changes the surface of the headland must have undergone since they were first placed on it. Owing to their size the epithet "monumental," appropriate to almost all the other sculptured stones of Pictland, of all three types, and indicative, in one sense or another, of the object for which they were raised, can hardly be applied to the Incised Bulls. From the character of the sculpture the latter fall to be classed as belonging to the first type. But their number, their size, and, as seems to follow, the particular purpose, whatever it was, which they must have been meant to serve, distinguish them so markedly from the rest that they may be reckoned a sub-section with pronounced characteristics of their own.

The first attempt to explain the meaning and use of the bull stones can now excite only a smile. It is recorded by Carruthers. "Mr. Young," he tells us, "being not a little puzzled at their signification, sent one of them to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries. This learned body decreed that the bulls were trophies carved by the Romans as we strike medals in commemoration of any signal victory."† Dr. Anderson believes that instead of "Scottish" we should read London Society of Antiquaries, to which a specimen was undoubtedly sent. There is a complete record of every object presented to the Scottish Society since its formation, and no such bull appears on the list. He is of opinion, therefore, that the one referred to by Carruthers must be that figured in the *Archæologia*.

In "Vacation Notes" read before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and published in Vol. X. of their *Proceedings*, Sir Arthur Mitchell has thrown

* *Highland Note-Book*, p. 220: Inverness, 1842.
† *Highland Note-Book*, p. 221.

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out a suggestion that the Bulls and certain other Burghead antiquities may be connected with the worship of Mithra or Mithras, an Eastern deity identified latterly with the sun, whose cultus reached its highest development in Persia during the fourth century B.C. Introduced among the Romans about 70 B.C., Mithraism soon spread rapidly, and is known to have been brought by the legionaries to Britain; but coming into conflict with Christianity, it was suppressed throughout the Roman Empire towards the close of the fourth century A.D.

In the ritual of Mithraism the sacrifice of the bull as an act of worship to the giver of increase, and the use of fire were prominent, while a dark, sunless cave containing a spring of water was often selected as a temple. With much ingenuity and learning Sir Arthur Mitchell seeks to connect the "Well," the Bulls, and the Burning of the Clavie with Mithras.

An examination of the various questions involved need not now be attempted. If the "Well" was excavated by Christian hands and devoted at first to Christian purposes, the Bulls and the Clavie can hardly stand alone in connection with Mithraism. I believe, however, that Sir Arthur Mitchell has pointed out the direction in which we ought to travel in search of their meaning. If not Mithraic, they probably belong to a kindred phase of religious development. The Clavie may be safely set down as a relic of that primitive fire worship, common under various forms to most pagan nations, which they either brought with them from some original home or evolved independently; while in explanation of the Bulls, I venture to adopt his hypothesis that they are "votive offerings or substitutory sacrifices," along with most of the arguments by which he supports it. These arguments, however, I shall endeavour to use with a somewhat different end in view, so as to associate the sculptures, not with a foreign cult, but with religious ideas, indigenous to the soil, and "found among all early peoples in all parts of the world where religious ritual has reached any considerable development"*—ideas which often outlived the introduction of higher beliefs.

In briefly discussing the subject, it may be convenient to do so in the order of the following questions, which cover the whole field:—

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* Prof. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 197: Edinburgh, 1889.

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(1) Is there an *a priori* reason for expecting to find sacrifice, votive or piacular, an institution among the pagan tribes of Britain?

(2) Does any proof exist that it was practised by them, and that it continued to be so after the introduction of Christianity?

(3) Can the Incised Bulls be connected with any such practice through the analogy of usages prevailing among other races of mankind?

(4) Accounted for in this way—do the Bulls stand alone among the sculptured stones of north-eastern Scotland, or is there any probability that the presence of other figures, especially those of the earliest type, may be also directly or indirectly due to similar notions regarding the potency or sanctity of animal life?

It is at all times easier to pull down than to build up; and the work of construction becomes doubly hazardous when the materials one has to handle are scanty and of doubtful value for the purpose. But what is now to be advanced is put forward, just as Sir Arthur Mitchell put forward the hypothesis in its original form, solely in the hope of throwing some light on one of the mysteries of Scottish archæology.

To take these questions in the order in which they are put:—

(1) It is evident that to answer the first of them we must look afield. And our doing so seems to be quite legitimate. For while from a scientific point of view the history of primitive man is confessedly obscure, few zoologists will refuse to admit as at least probable even in its most literal sense the statement made on Mars' Hill nearly 2000 years ago,* given sufficient time for changes of colour and feature to become strongly marked. The same condition granted, the philologist, amid the Babel of tongues, will likely come to the same conclusion. Indeed, as a matter of fact, the resemblance in bodily and mental structure between different varieties of the human race is so close as to almost postulate their descent from one original stock. Accordingly the wide prevalence of animal sacrifice with the various ideas the rite involves, is far from surprising. Whatever its origin, and whether it existed at a very early period or was a later development, it is so wide-spread a practice that it may be almost set down as an instinct of humanity derived from some religious feeling that sprang from

* *Acts*, chap. xvii., 26.

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a common source. This affords strong presumption, even if no evidence of the fact could be produced, that sacrifice must have been practised by the early races of Britain. But

(2) The evidence of its prevalence among them is sufficiently distinct. Sir Arthur Mitchell has shown this very clearly, noticing especially the letter which Pope Gregory addressed to the Abbot Mellitus in the year 601, and which has been preserved by Bede.* Gregory, with reference to the further conversion of the Angli, charges the Abbot to tell Augustine that "the temples of the idols in "that nation ought not to be pulled down. But let the idols that are in them "be destroyed; let holy water be made and sprinkled in the said temples; "let altars be erected and relics placed. For, if those temples are well built, "it is requisite that they be converted from the worship of demons to the "service of the true God. . . . And, because people have been wont to "slaughter many oxen in the sacrifices to demons, some solemnity must be "exchanged for them on this account. On the day of dedication, or the "nativities of the holy martyrs, whose relics are there deposited, they may "build themselves huts of the boughs of trees about those churches that have "been turned to that use from the temples, and celebrate the solemnity with "religious feasting, and no more offer beasts to the devil, but kill them to the "praise of God in their eating, and return thanks to the Giver of all things "for their sustenance; to the end that, whilst some gratifications are outwardly "permitted them, they may the more easily consent to the inward consolations "of the grace of God. For there is no doubt that it is impossible to efface "everything at once from their obdurate minds; because he who endeavours "to ascend to the highest place rises by degrees, or steps, and not by leaps. "Thus the Lord made Himself known to the people of Israel in Egypt; and "yet He allowed them in His own worship the use of the sacrifices which they "were wont to offer to the devil." So far, however, was this toleration of pagan practices carried elsewhere by Christian missionaries, that they themselves sometimes became the priests who sacrificed bulls to the gods of the pagans. This abuse drew from Pope Zachary severe condemnation in a letter sent to St. Boniface A.D. 748.†

* Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of England*, Book i., chap. 30.

† Quoted by Sir Arthur Mitchell, *Pro. Soc. of Antiq. of Scot.* Vol. x., p. 669, Note 2.

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Coming much farther North, and to a much later date, we find the following in the Records of the Presbytery of Dingwall, under date of 5th September, 1656 :—"The said day the presbytrie of Dingwall, according to the appoynt-"ment of Synode for searching and censureing such principalls and supersti-"tious practices as sould be discovered thaire—haveing mett at Appilcross, "and findeing amongst other abhominable and heathenishe practices that the "people in that place were accustomed to sacrifice bulls at a certaine tyme "upon the 25 of August, which day is dedicate, as they conceive, to St. Mourie "as they call him ; . . . have appoynted as followes:—That quhosoever "sall be found to commit such abhominationes, especiallie sacrifices of any "kynd, or at any tyme, sall publickly appear and be rebuked, six several "Lord's dayis in six several churches."

The same Presbytery on the 6th of August, 1678, resolved to summon before them for the second time certain persons named in the minute who had sacrificed a bull "in ane heathenish manner in the iland of S. Rufus, commonly "called Ellan Moury, in Lochew, for the recovering of the health of Cirstane "Mackenzie, who was formerly sick and valetudinarie."*

An instance of the same practice in a remote part of the South-West of Scotland, about the middle of last century, is thus referred to by Prof. Max Müller :—"A Miss Austin relates that in the year 1767, in the Isle of Mull, "in consequence of a disease among the black cattle, the people agreed to "perform an incantation, though they esteemed it a wicked thing." After describing this incantation, which was the ceremony known as Need-fire, he proceeds :—"They then sacrificed a heifer, cutting in pieces and burning "while yet alive the diseased part. They then lighted their own hearths from "the pile, and ended by feasting on the remains."†

Another example may be given which is very significant in its bearing on the question before us, from the locality where it occurred. Less than fifty years ago, on a farm in Morayshire, distant from Burghead not more than ten miles, an animal of the ox kind was sacrificed. The herd on the farm had been diminished by a then unknown distemper from which it was still

* Sir Arthur Mitchell, *On Various Superstitions in the North-West Highlands ; Pro. Soc. of Antiq. of Scot.*, Vol. iv., p. 256 and p. 258.

† *Physical Religion*, p. 287 : London, 1891.

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suffering. So great was the secrecy maintained that it was found impossible by the neighbours to get particulars. But of the fact there was no doubt. The animal, or part of it, was consumed by fire, the smell of the burning carcass filling the air for miles around the scene of the superstitious rite.

Once more: on three farms in the valley of the Deveron—for the cases are so recent as to forbid a more exact indication of the locality—a contagious disease had broken out among the cattle. The plague was attributed to some demoniacal influence, and in the hope of staying it the carcass of an animal that had died was burned on each of the farms as a propitiatory offering. In the Mull instance an animal that was already dying of the disease was supposed to be acceptable to the offended spirits. On Deveronside the principle of commutation was carried still further by devoting to them the dead instead of the living. This seems to mark successive stages of transition, leading from the sacrifice of an unblemished victim to the instances that now fall to be noticed.

(3) In order to trace a possible connection between the Incised Bulls, as commuted votive or piacular sacrifices, and such sacrifices as have just been shewn to have been practised in all parts of Britain within Christian times, we may again look afield. On this point, also, Sir Arthur Mitchell makes some suggestive remarks. At the festival of the Lemuralia, celebrated in ancient Rome every year in the month of May, "there was a symbolic sacrifice of human "figures made of rushes; and to cakes of flour and wax the shape of animals "was given, and these were offered as symbolical sacrifices in place of the "real animals, when these could not be procured, or when they were too "expensive for the sacrifice."* He gives, besides, from Dugdale, an instance of "what may be called the *uncompleted* sacrifice of a bull at the shrine of a Christian Saint," in which, after the animal had been led in procession, it was returned to its pasture, and offerings were made in its stead. In certain rites anciently practised in Egypt, waxen figures were early substituted for human victims; and a figure called the "Bride of the Nile," now annually thrown into the river at the cutting of the Canal of Cairo, is said to represent a girl annually sacrificed in former times.† Other examples of the same practice

**Pro. Soc. of Antiq. of Scot.* Vol. x., p. 670.

†Art, Egypt, *Encyc. Britann.* Vol. vii., p. 719, note; Ninth Edition: Edinburgh, 1877.

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are found in the classical writers. Herodotus, for example, speaking of the custom in Egypt of sacrificing swine to the moon, tells us that the poorer sort, who could not afford live pigs, formed pigs of dough, which they baked and offered in sacrifice."* It is no doubt a far cry from Egypt to Burghead; but obviously there is nothing absurd in assuming the possibility of a similar practice at Burghead, where bulls would be a somewhat expensive luxury.

A kindred form of expiation, in which an enemy is supposed to suffer in reality the mock tortures inflicted on an image, is what is known in the Highlands of Scotland as the *corp creagh*—*i.e.*, body of clay. This is a slow and secret method of so wasting the strength of the individual to whose injury it is employed, that, if continued long enough, death must, it is believed, result. The sufferings of the victim will cease only if timely and sufficient reparation is made, or if he is able to discover and punish his tormentors. In this case, those who think they have been wronged either are without the power openly to avenge themselves of their adversary, or find it imprudent to attempt to do so. In order to accomplish their purpose, they have recourse to a species of "black art," seeking in an "uncanny" way the aid of spiritual beings of evil intent. An image of the offender is formed of some plastic material—wax, or, more commonly, clay. If of wax, it is subjected through exposure to fire, sometimes by day and sometimes by night, to treatment that mysteriously affects the individual represented, exactly as if it had been applied to the living body. As the wax gradually melts, the sufferer perspires profusely, and diminishes in bulk. If the image is of clay, a similar result is ensured by the action on it of running water. To add to the pain and unrest, the *corp creagh*, whether of wax or clay, is from time to time pricked with pins, those most actively engaged in the work uttering certain words of incantation. Shakespeare, the source of whose knowledge of the charm we shall presently see, puts the following words descriptive of its effects into the mouth of one of the witches in *Macbeth*:—

> "I'll drain him dry as hay:
> Sleep shall neither night nor day
> Hang upon his pent-house lid;
> He shall live a man forbid;
> Weary se'en nights nine times nine,
> Shall he dwindle, peak and pine."

* *Book* ii., chap. 47.

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This superstition is very ancient and widespread. In the second Idyll of Theocritus a Syracusan maid, who has been slighted by her lover, practises by the light of the moon the same magic rite, and threatens death to the faithless youth unless he returns to the first object of his affection.

In the north of Scotland it was, and still is, well known. Boece details with more than his usual verbosity the sufferings under it of King Duff, or Dubh [A.D. 962-967], at the hands of the Forres witches, hired by the nobles of Morayland, whom he had offended. As an incident in the life of Duff the story is, of course, worthless; he may not even have had in all his life any severe illness that could have given rise to it. Fordoun, in his account of Duff's reign, makes no allusion to such an illness. But, in whatever connection Boece may have heard of the charm, his narrative is valuable as evidence of the antiquity of the rite in Scotland; and it is interesting, since, having met Shakespeare's eye in Holinshed's version of Bellenden's Boece, it no doubt furnished him with the groundwork of the lines just quoted. Nor is the practice yet obsolete. There is in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford the *corp creagh* of a Northern factor who had incurred the resentment of some crofter tenants on the estate he managed. Fortunately for him, it was captured somehow, and carried south; so that the threatened Sassenach still lives. A year or two ago, a similar image was made for an officer of the Inland Revenue, in a Scottish county, who had rendered himself obnoxious by his activity in the suppression of illicit stills; but what effect it had upon him my informant is unable to say. In a village, of which it is enough to state that it is somewhere in the Highlands, a dispute very recently arose as to the precedence of English or Gaelic in the services to be held in a newly-erected church. Clay images of two of the more prominent persons on the anti-Gaelic side were made by "wise women" skilled in the art, and placed in running water. Those thus marked out were, it is said, shortly after stricken with severe and somewhat inexplicable illnesses. In the case of a church-leader who had been sent to the scene, and who made an earnest but fruitless endeavour to settle the local differences, the spell was also put into operation and proved apparently much more potent. For after a brief illness he passed unexpectedly away. As may be supposed, I do not vouch for the accuracy of all these statements. I give them as made to me by one intimately acquainted

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with the district, who assures me they are founded on facts. For our present purpose their interest lies solely in the illustration they offer of a belief in the efficacy of substitution, shewn under very remarkable circumstances.

On the other hand, the idea that the Incised Bulls are votive tablets—that is, substitutory offerings made in grateful commemoration of a benefit received rather than as an atonement for sin—is one that does not lack the advantage of analogy in other countries. In Phœnician settlements particularly, such votive "stelai" have been found in large numbers; and they frequently bear representations of various animals—the bull, the elephant, the dove, the swan, and the ram being very common. As to numbers being found together, a single instance will suffice. Perrot and Chipiez mention that in one spot in Carthage, the site of an ancient temple, more than two thousand such tablets were found, many of them with the figures of bulls. They add:—"Almost all "the 'steles' are broken; those which are intact are about 24 inches high. "As a rule, they are rough at their lower extremity, which seems to prove that "they were planted in the ground. Their backs are roughly dressed."* One of them, which they figure, has a bull carved on it, which in several respects recalls those from Burghead; and in more than one feature of the description given above there is a striking resemblance to the Burghead Stones —a resemblance which, however, does not justify the inference that the bulls were carved under Phœnician influence.

The supposition that the Bulls had been graven images can hardly be entertained. For this purpose one would have been sufficient for a single community, and that one would have been cut on a much more imposing stone than any of the survivors of the traditional thirty.

(4) If the hypothesis now put forward be regarded as reasonable, it may fairly be asked—Do the Bulls stand alone among the sculptured stones of the north-east of Scotland? It must be admitted that at present few examples are known that can be classed along with them. But very recently, some similar stones have been brought to light near Inverness, of which I first heard from Provost Ross and Dr. Aitken there, and Rev. Dr. Gordon, Elgin, and Rev. Dr. Joass, Golspie. Mr. Wallace, Rector of Inverness High

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* *History of Art in Phœnicia and Cyprus*, Vol. i., p. 325, note: London, 1885.

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School, has obligingly sent me photographs of several of them. Two, which had, however, in his opinion, been part of a monument, were lately found in a field fence near Ardross.* Of two smaller sculptures, one, at Lochardil, the residence of Mr. Fraser Macintosh, M.P., measures about 3 ft. by 2½, and bears incised the figure of an ox or cow, much worn. When it first attracted notice, it was one of the stones in a wall round a villa in Inverness, its previous locality being unknown. The other stone (Fig. 3, Pl. VI). now in the garden of Provost Ross, is ruder in execution and smaller in size, being only about a foot square. The animal on it is not unlike the Calf of St. Luke, from the Gospels of Durrow, figured by Mr. Romilly Allen.† Its original locality is also unknown. Rumours that speak of the existence of other such stones in the neighbourhood of Inverness may yet be confirmed. It is also possible that some of the smaller sculptures of the earliest type, in Dr. Stuart's volumes, might be shewn by an examination of the originals to be similar. But even if the Incised Bulls stood alone, the hypothesis as to their use need not be rejected on this account. Had it not been for the accident of their having been preserved in the ruins of the fortifications of Burghead, they would certainly have perished long ere now. Indeed, as may be gathered from what was said in describing them, it is doubtful whether any of them would have been in existence to-day but for the interest that happened to be aroused in them 30 years ago. It need not, therefore, be matter of surprise if elsewhere stones of a small size, whose original purpose would throw discredit on them as higher ideas prevailed, disappeared in the course of centuries. The larger monuments of the period, when afterwards associated by the symbol of the Cross with Christianity, as in the case of the Dunrobin stone, or when protected by their size till they came

* Fig. 1, Pl. VI. represents one of these. The animal bears some resemblance to the tigress gazing at the mirror on the stone at Newbigging of Leslie, Aberdeenshire (*Sc. Stones of Scotland*, Vol. ii., Pl. cxxiii., fig. 1, and *Scotland in Early Christian Times, Second Series*, p. 170), only that the head is larger, while the style of sculpture more closely resembles the Burghead Bulls. Fig. 2 of Plate VI. represents the other Ardross stone.

† *Early Christian Symbolism*, p. 358: London, 1887. Dr. Anderson had previously suggested that the Burghead Bulls may have some connection with the Bull of St. Luke, often seen in the illuminated Gospels. But the latter is generally winged, and is besides much less realistic in appearance than the Burghead sculptures.

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to be the subject of some innocent legend, had a much better chance of surviving; although the scant regard paid by twelfth-century masons when reconstructing the Church of St. Vigeans, to some very fine crosses, shews that even these were often destroyed without scruple or challenge.*

Any attempt to connect all the animal figures on our sculptured stones by making them the outcome of some general notion of animal sanctity, opens up a different field of inquiry. Dr. Anderson has the great merit of being the first to show that many of the scenes depicted on them are reproduced from the Mediæval Bestiaries. Mr. Romilly Allen, in *Christian Symbolism*, the Rhind Lectures for 1885, has followed up this important discovery, and thrown additional light on the subject. But admitting—what may be the case—that the figures, with only a few exceptions, such as the Incised Bulls, were originally derived from this source, some will be ready to ask—How did the monuments of one particular part of Scotland come to be so largely decorated with this form of symbolism? When the Greek philosopher was explaining to his disciples his theory of the origin of matter, which he supposed to have been brought into existence by a fortuitous concourse of atoms, he is said to have been interrupted by one of them asking the question—"But whence the atoms?" A similar curiosity regarding the beasts is pardonable. One thing is certain. Those collections of stories regarding certain animals, many of them purely imaginary creatures, known as the Bestiaries with the allegorical lessons fancifully drawn from the habits, real or supposed, of the animals described, formed no essential part of the teaching of the Christian Church. Not a few of its chief pastors discouraged and denounced the cutting of grotesque animal figures on sacred buildings. Have we here, then, an instance of the general law, that when a higher religion displaces a lower it usually takes up into itself, at first at all events, some of the features of that which it comes to destroy—a law from which even Christianity itself has not been exempt?

Prof. J. P. N. Land, in the account he gives of the Bestiary under the article "Physiologus," in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, leans to the opinion that the original book, of which so many copies were made in the

* *Scotland in Early Christian Times* (Second Series), p. 50.

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Middle Ages, is traceable to Alexandria. That the ancient Egyptians held peculiar notions regarding animals is too well known to require illustration.* But, if we may believe anthropologists, these notions are not peculiar to any one people, mankind the whole world over passing through much the same kind of mental evolution. Should this be so, it may well follow that the early teachers of Christianity found it advisable to tolerate them, where still prevalent, and to endeavour to give them a new direction by making them available for Christian instruction. Pictland may have been still to some extent under the influence of these notions, when her artists, whose beauty and fertility of design is shown by the remarkable ornamentation of the monuments, readily yielded to some strange fascination exercised over them by uncouth, conventional forms of animals that offer so strong a contrast to the other efforts of their genius.

But what are the notions? I allude to totemism, a branch of anthropology which has not yet won unchallenged recognition as an instrument of archæological research, but for which a claim to be reckoned a factor in the history of ancient religious practices and social methods is now put forward in various quarters. Here I use the term simply for the sake of convenience, as I know of no other that expresses what these notions are held to include; and in explaining it, I shall follow those who have made them a subject of investigation.

"A totem," says Mr. J. G. Frazer, "is a class of material objects which a "savage regards with superstitious respect,† believing that there exists between "him and every member of the class an intimate and altogether special rela-"tion. . . . The connection between a man and his totem is mutually "beneficent—the totem protects the man, and the man shews his respect for

*Ægyptiorum morem quis ignorat? quorum imbutae mentes pravitatis erroribus quamvis carnificinam prius subierint, quam ibim aut aspidem aut felem aut canem aut crocodilum violent: quorum etiam si imprudentes quippiam fecerint, poenam nullam recusent.—Cicero: *Tusc. Quaest.* Book v., 78.

† By the system of names imposed upon the men composing the Algonquin, Iroquois, "Cherokee, and other nations, a fox, a bear, a turtle, &c., is fixed on as a badge or stem "from which the descendants may trace their parentage. To do this, the figure of the animal "is employed as a heraldic sign or surname. This sign, which by no means gives the indi-"vidual name of the person, is called in the Algonquin, 'town-mark,' or 'Totem,' the true "pronounciation of which is *do-daim*." Schoolcraft's *History of the Indian Tribes of the United States.* Part i., p. 57: Philadelphia, 1853.

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"the totem in various ways, by not killing it if it be an animal, and not cutting "or gathering it if it be a plant."* This is the stage of religious development which exists at present among the Aborigines of Australia. Until European immigration commenced, it was apparently universal throughout the American Continent; and recent research has revealed presumptive proof of its presence in most unexpected quarters.

A tribe of North American Indians, or Australian blacks, is not a homogeneous whole; it is made up of a larger or smaller number of totem-kins, or clans, called by the name of some animal or plant. Each individual is bound to respect the totem of the "kin" to which he belongs; he may not kill it except under conditions to be noticed later—and, indeed, in some cases, he is not allowed even to name it directly. At the same time, it is customary to find savages trying to assimilate themselves to their totem by wearing its skin, if it be an animal, or by tatooing it upon their bodies. It is a further development to find the totem painted or carved on the shield, the canoe, or the wigwam, and to see it used instead of the individual name, to mark the last resting-place of the American Indians.†

In this, which may be called the first stage of totemism, the tribe is heterogeneous; that is, each tribe contains a number of different totems. Further, the totemistic system is a most important factor in the whole social organization. For no man may marry a women whose totem is the same as his own. There is another fact which must not be lost sight of. In the majority of cases where totemism still survives and flourishes in full vigour, kinship is counted through the female line alone; and there can be little doubt that, in the remaining cases, the admission of the father's claim is a development from the

*Art. Totemism. *Encyc. Britann.* (Ninth Edition).

†The suggestion that the animals on our sculptured stones are analogous to what is found among the American Indians is not a new one. It was made a number of years ago in the Introduction to the Second of the Spalding Club Volumes. But the view there taken is that the marks on the stones are tribal marks, indicating possibly extent of territory, &c. All the circumstances, however, preclude the supposition that this can have been the original use of most of them. Curiously enough, on a stone at Inverurie (*Sc. Stones of Scot.*, Vol. i., c. 10) the animal is inverted precisely as is usual with the totem of a dead chief in America (See *Schoolcraft.* Part i., Pl. 50, figs. 1-5). Prof. Max Müller believes that to mark the grave-post is the original use of the totem sign, and that by an easy transition the totem came to be regarded with veneration.

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earlier stage where, as has been said, "maternity was a fact, paternity only an opinion." It will be evident that the recognition of kinship through the mother would tend to maintain or even to increase the heterogeneity of the tribe. For when a new totem was introduced by marriage the children would belong to their mother's totem-kin.*

But there is another stage of totemism. When kinship ceases to be counted through the mother, and the claims of the father become paramount, the character of the tribe is gradually changed. From being heterogeneous, it tends to become homogeneous, as marriage can no longer create a new totem within the tribe. And it is not difficult to imagine that in process of time the totem of the preponderating family might come to be the totem of the tribe. Two examples from different continents will make this clearer. Of China we read—"In some parts of the country large villages are to be met with, in each "of which there exists but one family name. Thus, in one district there will "be found, say, three villages, each containing two or three thousand people, "the one of the Horses, the second of the Sheep, and the third of the Ox "family name" . . . . "Custom and law alike prohibit marriage on the "part of people bearing the same family surname. The children are of the "father's family—*i.e.*, they take his surname."†

The other example is different from this, and represents a further stage of development. In ancient Egypt, particular cities and districts worshipped each its own sacred animal; and an animal which was reverenced by the people of one town might be hunted with relentless severity by the people of another—a state of things that is very vividly described in the opening lines of Juvenal's *XV. Satire.*‡ It is singularly instructive to find this clear instance

* There are grounds for believing that inheritance through the mother existed among the Picts. Cf. Bede, *Ecc. Hist. of Eng.*, Bk. i. ch. 1.; Canon Taylor, *The Origin of the Aryans*, p. 184; and Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 343-356: London, 1877.

† Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 365.

‡ "Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens
Ægyptus portenta colat? crocodilon adorat
Pars haec, illa pavet saturam serpentibus ibin.
Effigies sacri nitet aurea cercopitheci
Dimidio magicae resonant ubi Memnona chordae,
Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis,
Illic æluros, hic piscem fluminis, illic
Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam."—*Sat.* xv. 1-8.

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of totemistic survival among a nation so highly civilized as the ancient Egyptians, and to note the character of the survival. Men no longer called themselves by the name of their totem—as they did in the Chinese example—nor was exogamy any longer a rigid law, but the totem had been elevated into a deity, or had at least become inseparably associated with the deity who had usurped its place as an object of worship by the tribe.

One other point requires to be noticed. In spite of the reverence entertained for the totem—indeed, just because of that reverence, we find that under certain conditions the totem could be put to death. This apparent inconsistency is to be explained through the notion of piacular sacrifice. The idea of substitution is of frequent occurence in early religions. If a man has been guilty of some crime, he may be permitted to expiate it by offering a victim in his own stead. This form of sacrifice must be carefully distinguished from the sacrificial feast, where the god was expected to share a meal with his worshipper, and where the animal was eaten. For, in the case of piacular sacrifice, it was only the life of the victim that was demanded. "The most "curious developments of piacular sacrifice," says Prof. Robertson Smith, "take place in the worship of deities of the totem type. Here the natural "substitute for the death of a criminal of the tribe is an animal of the kind "with which the worshippers and their god alike count kindred; an animal, "that is, which must not be offered in a sacrificial feast, and which indeed it "is impious to kill."* Here, again, two examples will be sufficient for illustration. Some of the Californian Indians, we are told, "killed the buzzard "and then buried and mourned over it like a clansman. But it was believed "that as often as the bird was killed, it was made alive again." Once more,

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"Who knows not to what monstrous gods, my friend,
The mad inhabitants of Egypt bend?
The snake-devouring ibis these enshrine,
Those think the crocodile alone divine;
Others where Thebes' vast ruins strew the ground,
And shattered Memnon yields a magic sound,
Set up a glittering brute of uncouth shape,
And bow before the image of an ape!
Thousands regard the hound with holy fear,
Not one, Diana."—GIFFORD.

* Art. Sacrifice, *Encyc. Britann.* (Ninth Edition).

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Herodotus gives a curious account of the annual sacrifice of a ram at Thebes. "'The Thebans do not sacrifice rams, but consider them sacred animals. Upon "one day in the year, however, at the festival of Zeus they slay a single ram, "and stripping off the fleece, cover with it the statue of that god as he once "covered himself, and then bring up to the statue of Zeus the statue of Hercules. "When this has been done the whole assembly beat their breasts in mourning "for the ram and afterwards lay him in a holy sepulchre."*

It may, however, be urged that all this, even if true of the countries mentioned, is no proof of totemism ever having prevailed among the ancient inhabitants of Britain in general and of Pictland in particular. The answer is that if it be, as is generally admitted, a stage in the evolution of most primitive social organizations and religious systems, we cannot deny the possibility of its former existence, though all traces of it may have subsequently disappeared. But, so far from its being certain that there are no such survivals in Britain, a good many facts have been collected by Mr. G. L. Gomme, which indicate on various grounds their presence amongst us still.†

What races first inhabited Britain, whence they came, and what stage of civilization they had reached before they were partially absorbed by peoples of higher culture or superior physical strength, we cannot tell. Notwithstanding all that has been written on the subject, we are still as far as ever from having penetrated the obscurity that hangs over it. Conclusions that a few years ago were regarded as established beyond all doubt are now boldly questioned. The westward march of an all-conquering Aryan race, that left its home in the East in successive detachments of Celts, Teutons, Lithuanians, Slavs, Latins, and Greeks, no longer commands general acceptance.‡ The greater part of Europe and Western Asia may be Aryan in speech, but they are not believed to be so by blood. Identity of language does not necessarily imply identity of race. The fair-skinned native of Argyle may speak the same Celtic dialect as his swarthier brother of the straths of Wester Ross, but it does not follow that they are both Celts by descent. What people most nearly represents to-day the

* *Book* ii., chap. 42.

†*Archæological Review*, Vol. iii., pp. 217-242, and pp. 350-375: London, 1889.

‡Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples* (Eng. Trans.), pp. 80-106: London, 1890.

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original Aryans, who have imposed their rule and their tongue in its various forms on so large a part of the world, may never become a settled point. But anthropology and prehistoric archæology are now combining to show that, to use the words of Canon Taylor, "there is no reason for supposing that the "present inhabitants of Europe are not in the main the descendants of the "neolithic or possibly the palæolithic races whose rude implements fill our "museums."*

The bearing of these remarks on the animal figures of our sculptured stones is not immaterial. The latter are, as has been already remarked, almost confined to a particular part of the country—the Pictland of early writers. That fact must surely have some significance, and, if so, is that significance ethnological? In other words, was the land of the Picts inhabited by a race that withstood external influences longer than kindred races elsewhere in the island?† Were this so, it must have retained for a longer time, and in a more pronounced form, if not its distinctive religious customs and beliefs, at least those lingering traces of them which the naturally conservative instincts of mankind render it so hard to eradicate. Some of these figures have been satisfactorily accounted for as playing a part in certain scenes from Scripture. But others remain that it may be impossible to explain in this way. To say that they are totemistic survivals need not imply that the sculptors were totem-worshippers until the

* *The Origin of the Aryans*, p. 19: London, 1889.

† "Anthropologists have long been awaiting the appearance of some philologist fully "qualified to determine the important problem whether there be really a Euskarian or "Iberian element in the Kymric languages, or, if so, if it be equally or more potent in the "Gaelic or Erse. The existence of such an element had been boldly asserted and super-"ciliously denied or ignored, until recently Professor Rhys has answered our call with the "assurance that the element which physical phenomena have led us to look for, does really "exist; that it is to be found in Gaelic rather than in Kymric, and in Pictish rather than in "Gaelic; and that the Iberian symptoms among the Silures must be accounted for by their "having been, in part at least, Gaelic before they became Kymric in language. Professor "Rhys's opinion is clear and consistent, and may be reconciled with physical facts better "than any other hypothesis on the subject, as I shall subsequently demonstrate. The well-"reasoned affirmation of Skene that the Pictish language was phonetically intermediate "between Gaelic and Kymric, is the principal object in its way, and that is not, perhaps, "insurmountable. The Pictish of Skene, and even of Bede, may have been the Celtic "language in the form which it took in the mouth of the Picts, and it is noteworthy that the "Picts had been brought immediately into contact with tribes some of which spoke Brythonic "and some Gaelic dialects." Beddoe, *The Races of Britain*, p. 26: London, 1885.

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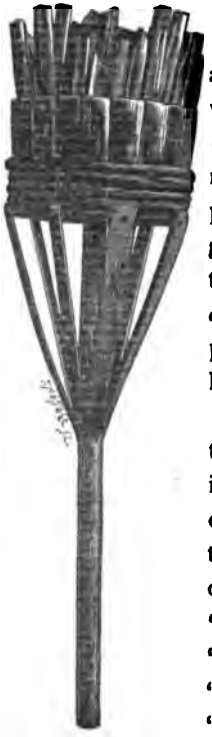
light of Christianity broke into their darkness. Nor does it follow from the supposition that the choice of a victim for sacrifice was originally influenced by the notions just described, that other considerations, such as its value, might not have come to hold a more prominent place. The old faith, if it ever existed, might have disappeared centuries before the advent of Columba, and yet have left behind it a strong belief in the sanctity of particular animals. And if we could suppose that, call it by what name we may, there was such a belief in the minds of the Picts when the Bestiaries found their way into Scotland, it would be much easier to understand the readiness with which native artists developed what would seem to have been a latent, albeit a somewhat odd, taste for animal sculpture.



The burning of the Clavie remains to be considered.

On the last day of December, 1859 (O.S.), I was present at this ceremony. A short account of it, taken down from what I saw, appeared a fortnight afterwards in *Notes and Queries*,* and was copied at the time into several northern newspapers. In the following year, one of the more enterprising of them gave a somewhat longer notice. It was graphically written; and Mr. Robert Chambers, who was then collecting materials for the closing pages of the *Book of Days*, made use of it to illustrate the observances peculiar to the last day of the year. In this way the Clavie has been made widely known.

In the original account of it, I had ventured to suggest that the custom might be a survival of the worship of fire, introduced into Burghead by the Norsemen. For this I was described by the journalist as "a party" advancing a theory with "nothing to prove his assumption, save a quotation from Scott's *Marmion*." To him its origin was "unmistakeable." He looked "down through the long "vistas of our national history to where the mists of "obscurity hang around the Druid worship of our fore-"fathers," and, of course, saw the Clavie there. But before

* *Notes and Queries*, vol. ix., p. 38, Second Series, London, 1860.

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entering further into the subject, it may be well to describe this singular custom once more. And in order that the present notice may be as complete and accurate as possible, the Rev. R. Niven, Burghead, has at my request furnished me with very full particulars collected from some of those who have often taken the chief part in the ceremony.*

On the eve of New Year's day (O.S.)† the manhood and youth of Burghead, both landsmen and toilers on the sea, who are descendants of the old natives, or who have been resident in it sufficiently long to be considered worthy of enrolment among them, assemble about dark and make the necessary preparations. The rest of the population, amounting to nearly one third of the whole and representing chiefly the Gaelic-speaking fishermen brought by Mr. Young from the counties of Nairn and Inverness some time after 1819, take no part whatever in the proceedings of the evening. The first and most important requisite to be provided is an old Archangel or Stockholm tar-barrel. This is usually gifted at once wherever the demand is made, but, if refused, may be taken by force. An old herring-barrel, some pieces of dry resinous wood, a quantity of tar, a number of nails, and the various tools necessary for the work of construction, are procured in the same way. It is an essential condition that everything needed should be supplied gratis. Thus furnished, the Clavie builders repair to a spot near the corner of the U.P. Manse, not far from the railway station and the sea shore, to commence operations. Before the ground in front of the station hotel was fenced in as a garden, the Clavie was built there.

First of all the tar-barrel is sawn into two unequal parts. The bottom part, less in height than the other by four or five inches, forms a small tub thirteen

* In particular, Mr. Thomas Ross and Mr. Thomas Jenkins, the former of whom made for me a model of the Clavie, from which the drawing for the wood cut has been taken.

† In 1863 an attempt was made by some of those who may be described as belonging to the "party of progress" to burn the Clavie on the 31st December (*new style*). They had gathered their materials at the place for building it, and to fortify themselves for their task, had adjourned for a little to the adjoining hotel. Meanwhile, word of their intentions got abroad. The old Burgheadians at once turned out, almost *en masse*, smashed the barrels, spilt the tar on the street, and then surrounding the hotel, began to use such threats towards the innovators that the latter deemed it prudent to escape from the scene as secretly and as quickly as possible. So strong were the feelings thus excited, that people with whom some of them had been on very intimate terms, refused to speak to them for upwards of two years.

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or fourteen inches deep, and about nineteen and a half in external diameter. In the centre of the bottom a hole is bored with a gimlet. A handle or spoke of fir-wood, stripped of the bark, but not dressed in any way, and measuring about four feet three inches in length, with a diameter of three and a half or four inches, is then placed end ways underneath the tub and made fast to it by a nail driven through the gimlet hole. This nail is about six or seven inches long and three-eighths of an inch square, with a large flat head. It must be made by the village blacksmith, who has to supply a new one every year. It is driven home with a stone—a piece of quartz, locally known as whinstone, rounded by the action of water, and picked up anywhere for the occasion. Usually some boy covets the honour of providing the stone and handing it to the builder. It is used only to drive this nail. But too much importance need not be attached to the circumstance. The matter is one of necessity rather than of choice. To use a hammer with effect in the bottom of a small narrow barrel would be nearly impossible. Seven staves of the herring-barrel called "struts," are next taken and nailed with a hammer, one end to the spoke and the other to the bottom of the tub. A space between two of them where there might have been an eighth, is purposely left vacant to receive the head of the bearer. The staves are roughly "mitred" at the spoke. Ordinary wrought nails are used, two and a quarter inches long. Thus the tools employed are a saw, an axe, a gimlet and the stone.

The other half of the tar-barrel and what remains of the herring-barrel are then cut into suitable pieces for firewood. Smaller bits called "churls" and feathered or whorled at one end, are made with a pocket-knife from dry barrel-wood that has not been used—new wood in short. A peat kindled at a kitchen-fire in the neighbourhood and vigorously fanned by the breath of willing mouths till it is all aglow, is laid in the tub. Round it are placed the "churls" and above, till the tub is more than full, as many as possible of the barrel-staves, along with a liberal supply of tar. No shavings or lucifer matches can be used in lighting the Clavie.

The procession is now formed. At the call of the presiding builder, for the proceedings throughout are under the control of one man who is master of ceremonies for the evening, three cheers are given for the Queen, three for the Clavie, three for the Laird, and three for any other person or persons

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that may occur to him at the time. Off it now starts, going first to the harbour, and then along the principal streets of the village. Half-a-century ago the Clavie was carried to the bow of each fishing boat, and a handful of barley was thrown over the boat "for luck."*

The right to be the first bearer of the blazing load may be claimed by the last married young man from the landward side of the town. With his head inserted in the space left vacant for the purpose as already noted, so that the tub and its contents rest on it and with the tar often trickling down on his back, he rushes along, followed by an excited crowd. By his side run the builder and his assistants, who from time to time stir up the burning mass of wood and tar. A certain number of halts are made, generally where two streets meet. Here the bearers are changed, fresh fuel is added, a supply being carried by boys, and a scramble takes place for the brands that fall, or may be plucked from, the Clavie during the short rest. At particular houses other halts may be made, when burning brands are tossed in at the door, for which a contribution is expected either in the form of whisky or of what will procure it afterwards. In the procession the bearer fills the post both of honour and of danger. For there is a superstition to the effect that if any one should fall when carrying the Clavie, either he will not live to see the end of the coming year, or some great disaster will render it memorable in the annals of Burghead. When accompanying the procession of 1859, I was assured that a young sailor, who had stumbled under the load a year before, was drowned a few months afterwards. Of the connection between the two events my informants seemed to have no doubt. Formerly only men belonging to the landward side of Burghead were permitted to be Clavie-bearers. But fishermen, if of the old stock, are no longer ineligible.

Arrived near the end of the main street and within a short distance of the point of the headland, the Clavie is carried to the Dourie, a portion of the old ramparts near the landward junction of the two terraces, that has been spared in consequence of its association with the ceremony. This spot, however, has

* In 1862, just after the opening of the railway from Alves to Burghead, the then proprietor and his brother, Mr. A. Young, were present at the burning of the Clavie; and at their request the procession stopped in front of the station, when barley was thrown over the roof with the old cry, "All for luck."

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been the Dourie only since 1809. On the summit a hole used to be scraped, and a circular heap of stones hastily piled up, in the hollow centre of which the Clavie was placed still burning. But, a good many years ago, the proprietor built a small freestone pillar, coped by a millstone that had long ground "whins" as food for the horse of a well-known native. Into the receptacle thus prepared for it the spoke is thrust, while fresh fuel is thrown into the tub. The Clavie now burns more fiercely than ever. Of old it was kept active, far into the night; but for some time past the flames have been allowed to die out much sooner. Ere they expire it is lifted from the pillar and unceremoniously dashed down the slope of the rampart. A struggle ensues among the crowd for possession of the embers, which, in bygone days at least, were carried home and carefully preserved as a safeguard against all evils, and especially as a charm against the power of witches. The spoke is the most coveted prize, and, to prevent a quarrel over it, it is generally sold to the highest bidder. Ordinarily it fetches 2s. 6d., but as much as 10s. 6d. has been given for the relic. The sum it may bring, added to the contributions got in passing through the village, is expended in procuring needed refreshment for those who have played the leading parts in the ceremony just brought to a close.

The theory that the burning of the Clavie is a superstitious remnant of Druidism, might have been accepted as satisfactory a generation or two ago, when everything unknown or mysterious was got rid of by referring it to that source. But the explanation will not pass current now. The accounts that the antiquaries of the last century give of the rites and usages of the Druids, as practised in North Britain, are known to be for the most part purely imaginary, and are not even supported by what Cæsar and Pliny tell us of the Druidism of the Gauls and of the South Britons among whom, unless these writers were imposed upon, some such form of worship had been developed into a system. Altogether apart, however, from Druidism, the Burghead Clavie is a survival of a widely spread superstition. "Among most primitive "peoples," says Professor Sayce, "fire is endowed with Divine attributes. It "moves and devours like a living thing; it purifies and burns all that is foul; "and it is through the fire upon the altar—the representative of the fire upon "the hearth—that the savour of the burnt sacrifice ascends to the gods in

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"heaven. Fire is itself a messenger from above. It comes to us from the "sky in the lightning flash, and we feel it in the rays of the noontide sun. "The fire god tended, therefore, to become on the one side the messenger "and intermediary between gods and men, and on the other the sun god "himself."* To prove that a form of this cult, similar to what is still practised at Burghead, though probably less highly developed, was once prevalent all over the North of Scotland, a few examples will suffice.

Sir Arthur Mitchell furnishes us with extracts from the Kirk Session Records of the old parish of Kinnedar, now included in Drainie, as well as from those of the Presbytery of Elgin, of dates extending from 1695 to 1706, which show that in the villages of Covesea and Stotfield,† the fishermen were in the habit of invoking the blessing and the protection of the fire-god by "burning torches on ye New Year's eve"—an offence for which as "idolatrous and heathenish" they were dealt with and severely censured by their ecclesiastical overseers. As carried out, however, in these villages, the ceremony seems to have been of a simpler character than the Burghead Clavie. In the twelve extracts from the Presbytery Records, the word does not once occur. Burning or bearing torches is the offence charged against those subjected to discipline. In two of the extracts from the Session Records, lighted clavies or torches carried about "ye boats" are spoken of. But there does not appear to have been any clavie-building or any procession through the villages on the same scale as at Burghead. On the other hand, in a series of extracts from the Session Records of Duffus,‡ the parish in which Burghead is situated, containing notices of dealings with Burghead fisherman for a similar practice, the word clavie is invariably used, except in the case of two individuals, who are accused, the one of kindling a candle with which he went about the boats, and the other of carrying "a torch of candles" around them. At the same time, the word is in the plural only when several persons are named together, as if each boat or boat's crew acted independently, as they appear to have done at Covesea and Stotfield. Nor is there any mention of a procession. The burning of "their clavies about their boats" is the charge preferred against

* Quoted by Prof. Max Müller, *Physical Religion*, p. 249.

† *Pro. Soc. of Antiq. of Scot'and*, vol. x. (N.S.), pp. 652-656.

‡ *Ib.* p. 656-658.

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them. It is perhaps too much to say that all this warrants the inference that, however old the practice itself may be, the Burghead Clavie of to-day with its somewhat elaborate ceremonial is a development of comparatively recent date. But it suggests the necessity for further inquiry, if possible.

From the Kirk Session Records of Inveravon, a Banffshire parish bordering on Morayshire, Sir Arthur Mitchell has produced an extract entitled, "an Act against clavies."* Here again the word is plural and occurs only in the title of the "Act." What is condemned is the going "about y^r^ folds "and cornes with kindled torches of firr, superstitiouslie, and idolatrouslie "asscribing y^t^ power to the fire of sanctifieing y^r^ cornes an cattell qch is "only proper and peculiar to the true and living God." In this case the ceremony must have taken place not on New Year's Eve, but at Midsummer when the cornfields were still green; and it is clearly the same practice as that which is referred to by the Rev. Lachlan Shaw in his *History of the Province of Moray*, and which in accordance with the belief of his day, he traced back to the Druids. They (*i.e.* the Druids) "made," he tells us, "the *Deas-Soil* † about "their fields of corn, with burning torches of wood in their hands, to obtain "a blessing on their corns. This I have often seen more in the Lowlands "than in the Highlands. On Midsummer Eve, they (*i.e.* the people) kindle "fires near their cornfields, and walk round them with burning torches."‡

More closely resembling the Burghead Clavie in some respects, is the custom described in the following sentences from the Old Statistical Account of the parish of Logierait in Perthshire:—"On the evening of the 31st of October "(O.S.), among many others, one remarkable enough ceremony is observed. "Heath, broom, and dressings of flax, are tied upon a pole. This faggot is "then kindled; one takes it upon his shoulders, and running, bears it round "the village. A crowd attends. When the first faggot is burnt out, a second "is bound to the pole, and kindled in the same manner as before. Numbers "of these blazing faggots are often carried about together, and when the "night happens to be dark, they form a splendid illumination."§

* *Ib.* pp. 658-59.

† "From *Deas* the South and *Soil* the Sun, q.d. South about with the Sun." Shaw's *History of the Province of Moray*, p. 236: Edinburgh, 1775.

‡ *Ib.* p. 241.

§ *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. v., pp. 84-85: Edinburgh, 1793.

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One more instance may be given; and in this case the usage is quite free from association with any particular day or season of the year. Martin, in his description of the Western Islands, writes:—"There was an antient "custom in the Island of Lewis, to make a fiery circle about the Houses, "Corn, Cattle, &c., belonging to each particular Family. A Man carry'd Fire "in his right hand, and went round, and it was called *Dessil*, from the right "hand, which in the antient Language is called *Dess*. . . . This superstitious custom is quite abolished now; for there has not been above one "Instance of it in forty years past." He adds, "There is another way of the "*Dessil*, or Carrying Fire round about women before they are Churched after "Child-bearing, and likewise about Children until they be christened: both "which are performed in the Morning and at Night. This is only practised "now by some of the ancient Midwives. I enquired their reasons for this "custom, which, I told them, was altogether unlawful. This disoblig'd them "mightily insomuch that they would give me no satisfaction. But others "that were of a more agreeable temper told me the Fire-round was an effectual "means to preserve both the Mother and the Infant from the power of evil "spirits, who are ready at such times to do mischief."* The supposed efficacy of fire as a protection against evil spirits is here very distinctly asserted.

Nor was this belief confined to Scotland. "Yule or the midwinter fire," says Worsaae, "was in the olden times, as it still is partly, the greatest festival "in the countries of Scandinavia. Yule bonfires were kindled round about as "festival fires to scare witches and wizards. . . . Superstitious persons "do not, however, allow the whole to be consumed, but take it out of the fire "again in order to preserve it till the following year."† One cannot read this without being reminded of the value attached for the same reason to the embers of the Clavie, nor without the thought occurring to him that the Burghead ceremony may possibly preserve some lingering traces of the Norsemen.

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* Martin's *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, pp. 116-7: London, 1703.

† Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland, pp. 83-4: London, 1852.

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We can now picture to ourselves with some approach to accuracy what Burghead was when the first Christian missionary took up his abode there. The home of a Pictish chief and of a number of his dependents, the rest of whom occupied the adjoining lands to the south and east, it was a post of honour when an enemy, a Viking galley for instance, appeared in the waters of the Firth. A considerable part of the headland would be surrounded by a dry-built stone wall. Within the circuit of this wall arose the residence of the chief, constructed at first, perhaps, of wood, and also the dwellings of his warrior clansmen who formed the garrison. These would be small round huts made of wood or of wattles. As an additional defence, some earthworks may have run from sea to sea. On the point of the promontory the beacon was always kept ready for kindling, the moment danger threatened. How often it had been used to give the alarm the burnt stones that long marked the spot, gave silent evidence. The little community itself was Pagan, worshipping the powers of nature, as represented by objects to which these powers were supposed to give life and force. Than Burghead, thus protected and surrounded by a considerable population with common interests, no place could have been found more suitable as a missionary centre or as the site of a clan monastery.

In spite of their conversion the natives, as was to be expected, clung to some of their old religious notions. Hence the survival of the Burning of the Clavie, which a purer faith has failed to suppress, but which, now that with the progress of civilization it is becoming yearly more and more a harmless pastime, few surely would wish to see discontinued. The Incised Bulls probably owe their existence to the ancient belief that certain animals were, under particular circumstances, acceptable as offerings to the powers unseen, or had in themselves attributes that rendered them sacred. And had not the "well" or baptistery been filled up as the walls of the fort sank into ruins, it would, we may be sure, have come to be venerated as a holy well, and have preserved to us the name of some early missionary whose labours in the district were abundant.* Instances of this are numerous enough in Scotland. The faith

* About a quarter of a mile to the east of Burghead a small spring of clear water comes naturally to the surface, called "St. Ethan's Well." Before water was brought into the village it was much used, being indeed the nearest supply of pure water within reach. Recently it has been all but hidden by the building of a stone fence close beside it. Various conjectures have been formed as to the identity of the saint whose name it may be supposed to bear.

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in the power of saints' wells and pools for the cure of mental and bodily diseases no doubt grew out of a belief in the soul-healing virtues their waters were supposed to possess when used in the rite that gave admission to the membership of the Christian Church. But this belief would find the readier acceptance among those to whom water was already sacred, and to whom, therefore, its use as the element of consecration in one of the most important events in life would seem singularly appropriate.

The subsequent history of Burghead is altogether beyond our present purpose. But it may be very briefly sketched, so far as known.

Soon after A.D. 843, when Kenneth M'Alpine united the Scots and Picts under his sway, Harold the Fairhaired, King of Norway, undertook an expedition against a number of his rebellious subjects who had seized the Orkney and Shetland Islands. Driving the Vikings from their haunts, he subdued both groups, and made them, as an earldom of Orkney, a part of his dominions. In 875 Earl Sigurd Eysteinson, on succeeding to the earldom, formed an alliance with Thorstein the Red, the Viking King of Dublin, for he purpose of invading the northern mainland of Scotland. "Together," says the *Flateyarbók*, "they conquered all Caithness, and much more of "Scotland—Maerhaefui (Moray) and Ross. He (Sigurd) built a borg on "the southern border of Maerhaefui." "The borg," says Dr. W. F. Skene, "was no doubt built on the promontory called Torfness by the Norsemen, "and now Burghead."* Waiving the question whether Burghead was or was not the Norse Torfness,† there is very strong evidence of its having been the

* *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. i, p. 336.

† Cordiner, or the Rev. Alex. Pope of Reay, whose translation of Torfaens' *Orcades* the former says he has abridged, was the first to identify Sigurd's "borg" with Burghead, which he also assumed to be the Ekkialsbakki of the Sagas. In the *Historical Notices* I recognised in Burghead the headland near which the final conflict took place between Thorfinn and Kali Hundason. Torfness is the name given to it in the Sagas. The name (Turfhead) was specially characteristic, as we have seen, of its situation and surroundings, and all the circumstances of the invasion seemed to me to point to the same conclusion. F. W. Robertson, in his *Early Kings of Scotland*, took, as it would appear independently, the same view. On the other hand, Dr. Anderson conjectures Torfness to be Tarbatness, and supposes Burghead to be the Dufeyrar of the Norsemen. (Cp. *Orkneyinga Saga*, p. 21 and p. 107, and *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. i., pp. 336-7). So confused is much of the geography of the Saga writers that the question is surrounded with difficulties. A good deal depends on the position of Ekkials-

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borg or fort built by Sigurd. An examination of Roy's Plan of the fortress * shows that those who gave its lines of defence their latest form, paid no regard to the sacredness of the early Church, the buildings having been actually used as a part of the second rampart. The latter must, therefore, have been older than this rampart, of which they came to form a part. When it is remembered that Sigurd and his followers were worshippers of Odin, no surprise will be felt at their having desecrated a Christian fane. Again, the Plan reveals the important fact that in order to include the baptistery—which would be utilised as a well—within the walls of the lower terrace or fort, the line of circumvallation on the landward side was most irregularly drawn. But its value to the Norsemen justified this; for in a siege, it would be their only available supply of water. When Roy sketched the fort the existence of the "Well" was unknown, except perhaps by tradition. Its site, however, is very distinctly marked on his Plan, and had evidently been strongly defended. Admit that a Christian Church and a baptistery had once stood on Burghead; then hardly any other conclusion than that the ramparts enclosing them are of a later date is possible. It does not in the least militate against this conclusion, that Burghead was a native stronghold when captured by Sigurd. That chief must have so far enlarged and strengthened it as to give ample ground for the statement made in the Saga. What part of the fortifications as a whole were native and what Norse cannot now be determined. In one respect at least they were, so far as we at present know, unique in Britain. The older local historians make mention in a confused way of logs of oak, some of them half burnt, being found among the ruins. In 1860 a small sum of money was placed at my disposal by the Elgin Literary and Scientific Association and some friends, which was spent in excavations made with the view of finding out the connection between the logs and the mass of stones around them.

On cutting the seaward rampart of the lower terrace, near where it is crossed by the line AB on Roy's Plan, we came upon a wall built without

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bakki, and on this name being always used of the same locality. For the present, I am inclined to hold by my former opinion. But the matter will bear further investigation.

* *Military Antiquities*, plate xxxiii.

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mortar, but bound by logs of wood, some running parallel to its face and some passing endways into the mass of loose stones behind. An account of the excavations, with drawings of the wall and of a section of the rampart, will be found in the *Proceedings*, vol. IV.* I left off without cutting the rampart quite through. This has recently been done by the present proprietor of Burghead, who found, at the distance of 24 feet or so from the wall I discovered, another of the same character, except that no logs were to be seen. The two walls are, in fact, the two faces of one wall, which had been of the great breadth just stated, and probably of a considerable height. The logs, and the immense quantity of stones that lay around, most of them without any marks of dressing, seemed to me the most remarkable features of the structure. Unable to account for such a mass of loose stones laid down irregularly behind, as it appeared to me, only one retaining wall, I hazarded the conjecture that they might be the ruins of some broch-like structure that had once stood on the promontory. But the discovery of the other retaining wall renders any such explanation unnecessary.† In one of his Rhind Lectures, Dr. Anderson has called attention to the point of similarity between the Burghead log-wall and some Gaulish *oppida* described by Cæsar and lately examined by the French archæologists.‡ We may thus hope that by investigations elsewhere, it will yet be possible to say whether it was a part of the original fort, or was raised by the Norsemen. The fate of

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* *Pro. of the Soc. of Antiq. of Scotland*, vol iv., pp. 347-351, and Pl. ix.

† Still, it does not follow that the conjecture is not, after all, well-founded. Too much weight was, perhaps, laid in my first Paper on the headland having been so long known as *The Broch*. It is unfortunate that this word, which is no doubt an equivalent of borg, burgh, and borough, and signified originally a fortress or castle of any sort, has within the last fifty years been used to denote that species of round tower so numerous in the Orkney and Shetland Islands, and of which examples are found in the mainland. It cannot, therefore, be affirmed that every place bearing from time immemorial the name of broch had been the site of one of those peculiar structures. But in some cases it may be so—though, owing to subsequent changes, it is now impossible to establish the fact by existing evidence; and Burghead may be an instance. Boece's description of it, when it was attacked by the Norsemen, as "furnished with towers and a wall of great height, marvellous works," is probably exaggerated; but it is not necessarily all fiction.

‡ *Scotland in Pagan Times* (The Iron Age), pp. 279-80.

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the monks of the clan monastery, and of their brethren settled at the College of Roseisle, can be too surely divined. Unless they managed to escape, which is not very probable, they would be put to the sword by the Pagan Norsemen. Similar acts of cruelty are recorded of the latter in the case of other monasteries, such as Lindisfarne and Iona. At all events, it is significant that the church of Burghead, shown by its baptistery to have been the seat of the chief presbyter or bishop of the province, henceforth disappears. The earliest records of the diocese of Moray, which commence in the twelfth century, contain no allusion to it.

There is much uncertainty as to the length of time the Norsemen maintained a footing in Moray. A century and a half after Sigurd's invasion, when they had been converted to Christianity, Thorfinn, Earl of Caithness and the Orkneys, is said to have once more landed with an invading army on its shores. He was met by a king of Scotland, whom the Sagas call Karl or Kali Hundason, and whom Dr. Skene and others identify with the unfortunate Duncan. The headquarters of the Norsemen appear to have been at Torfness, a circumstance that certainly points to that promontory having been Burghead. Near Torfness the decisive battle was fought which ended in the defeat and flight of King Karl. "And," adds one of the Sagas, "some say "he was slain." Dr. Skene supposes that in the confusion resulting from this disaster, Macbeth, then Mormaer of Moray, may have taken the opportunity of making terms for himself with the conqueror, and that, after assassinating his royal master near Elgin, he took possession of the vacant throne.

If the statements of the Sagas regarding the Norse invasions of the mainland of Scotland are somewhat confused, those of our own annalists are still more so. The fullest account they give of these inroads is to be found in Boece. But he so mingles fact and fiction that it seems hopeless to attempt to separate them. Apparently in his narrative of the siege and capture of Narmin or the "Burg" of Moray by the "Danes" and its speedy re-capture by Malcolm II., he has described as one event the two invasions of the Sagas, relating the chief incidents of each without due reference to the date of their occurrence, or to the identity of the chief actors. Malcolm II. is one of his favourite heroes; and accordingly without scruple he assigns to him the glory

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of having expelled the "Danes" from Morayland. At the same time it is possible to carry contempt for the authority of Boece too far. There is generally a grain of truth, if not more, in most of his marvellous tales. In the case before us his story bears internal evidence of being founded in the main on the earlier event. The name "Burg" given to the stronghold, the configuration of the headland, together with the alterations said to have been made on the defences, are all undoubted proofs in favour of his veracity, and oblige us to accept, if with deductions, his description of its walls and towers, his account of the battle of Kinloss, which decided its fate, and his assertion that the native garrison, after their surrender, were treacherously massacred by their pagan conquerors.

The first and second types of Scottish sculptured stones are both, as had been seen, represented at Burghead—the Incised Bulls being somewhat anomalous. The stones of both types are pre-Norman—that is to say, they are anterior in time to the influences that modelled anew the native church under Margaret, the wife of Malcolm Canmore, and her sons, and that led, by the establishment of diocesan episcopacy, to the extinction of the old Celtic Church. The great changes that were then made may, perhaps, explain the conduct of the St. Vigean's masons already referred to. Dr. Anderson is disposed to assign the decorative monuments of the second type to a period "later than the commencement of the tenth century, and the incised monuments to the period immediately preceding."* If we assume that there were at Burghead examples of interlaced and fret-work at the time it was captured and its church destroyed by Earl Sigurd (A.D. 875), it would seem to be almost necessary to extend backwards by half-a-century or so the first of these dates. The exact relation in which the sculptures all stood to the church itself cannot be stated for certain. To judge from the few surviving examples, the ecclesiastical buildings of those times were of a very plain character, and almost, if not quite, destitute of ornamentation—a connecting link, in fact, between the wooden structures of the early Columban Church and the gorgeous fanes of a later day.

Of the few war-like or personal ornaments that have been found at Burghead, the most artistic is a relic now in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries

* *Scotland in Early Christian Times* (Sec. Ser.), pp. 95-96.

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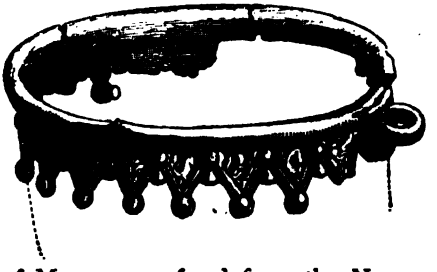
of Scotland, which has been pronounced to be the mounting of a horn of either Scandinavian or Saxon manufacture, and of an age not prior to the tenth century.*



When the shores of Moray were freed from the Norsemen and no longer exposed to the invasion of an foe whose base of operations was the sea, Burghead ceased to be a place of arms. During four centuries it had been the most important fortress in the North of Scotland. There was now no necessity for such coast defences. In the disturbed ages that followed, the fields of strife were no longer on the seaboard or in the Islands of the North. Burgs of all kinds, situated there, having served their purpose were deserted and left to crumble away unheeded. Accordingly, Burghead is lost to view, till it re-appears in Blaeu's Atlas (1653) as "Burgh *olim* Narmin." Its walls, under the influence of the elements aided by the use made of them as a quarry for building materials, had gradually become ruins. There is every probability that the "Well" was filled up by the sudden fall of a mass of building in its neighbourhood; and a possible clue to the date is afforded by a bronze jug or measure said to have been found in it, which seems to be of late mediæval manufacture.

Burghead, known as Brochsea, or more generally in the locality as THE BROCH, was during the 17th and 18th centuries a village of about 400 inhabitants, two-thirds of whom were fishermen and their families. In the year 1799 Sir Archibald Dunbar, Bart., who had been for some time proprietor of part of it, acquired the whole, and soon after made over his interest to a syndicate interested in the prosperity of the county. Nature had pointed out

* [For the accompanying wood-cut the Society is indebted to the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.—ED.]

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Burghead as the most suitable place on the south coast of the Moray Firth for the erection of a safe and commodious harbour, the want of which was greatly felt; and it was to supply this want that the scheme of joint-ownership was framed. The harbour was completed according to the original contract in the summer of 1809.

Unfortunately the improvements thus carried out led to the destruction of the greater part of the ancient fortifications. The property comprised only the promontory itself. Materials were required for making up the ground along the shore, and more space was needed on the headland for building purposes. In the year 1819, Mr. William Young, who had been throughout the leading spirit of the whole undertaking, purchased the shares of the other proprietors, and made further improvements on the harbour. Dying in 1842, he was succeeded by a nephew, at whose decease the present proprietor, Mr. H. W. Young, inherited Burghead.*

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*Much that is interesting regarding modern Burghead will be found in *Notes on Burghead, Ancient and Modern, containing Notices of Families connected with the Place at different Periods:* By Robert Young. (Printed for Private Circulation), Elgin, 1868. Mr. Young refers very briefly to its ancient history, and, sharing the common belief in the spurious "Richard," accepts, without any hesitation, the conclusions of General Roy. But his account of its modern history, and especially of the families who have possessed it, in whole or in part, from the beginning of the twelfth century to the year 1805—the Moravias, the Cheynes, the Fedderets, the Douglasses of Pittendreich, the Keiths, the Sutherlands of Duffus, the Gordons of Gordonstown, and the Dunbars, all of whom were descended from, or collaterally connected with, the great family of De Moravia—is full and trustworthy. Here Mr. Young, who was a nephew of the first Mr. Wm. Young of Burghead, handled materials with which his wide knowledge of the genealogy of those who had owned the soil of Moray during many generations, made him quite familiar. Nor was this his only contribution to the historical antiquities of his native province. In 1871 he published a *History of the Parish of Spynie;* and in 1879, *Annals of the Parish and Burgh of Elgin*, a work of great labour and value.

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NOTE ON THE MEANING AND ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORDS CLAVIE, DOURIE, CHURLS, STRUTS.

Regarding *Clavie* Sir Arthur Mitchell writes :—" In the church records the word *Clavie* " appears to be used as the equivalent of *torch*. It is not probable, however, that these two " words are really synonymous. The most likely meaning of clavie is that suggested to me " by Mr. Joseph Anderson. He thinks that it is an old or altered form of *clivvie*, which " Jamieson gives as a Banffshire word, meaning a cleft stick for holding a rush-light. In " Shetland the same word takes the form of *clivin*, the tongs ; and Mr. Laurenson states that " it is still in use among the fishermen. This makes the etymology of the word plain ; and " *clavie* would not be the *torch*, but the thing which carried either the torch or fire in any " case." He adds, " It has been suggested to me by that great Celtic scholar, Iain Camp- " bell of Islay, that clavie may come from the word *cliabh*, a basket ; and certainly the " basket-looking instrument, in which the fire is now carried at Burghead, gives some " support to this view of the origin of the word." (*Pro. Soc. of Antiq. of Scotland*, Vol. X., p. 629, *Note*).

Since the preceding pages were in type Mr. David Donaldson, F.E.I.S., editor of the last edition of Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*, has sent me, in reply to a letter, the following interesting remarks, which I have his permission to append. He says :—" For the origin of " the Burning of the Clavie we must search far back in the records of our native tribes ; and " as these are mostly mere traditions, any answer we may get can at best be little more than " a happy guess or a probability. Certainly, however, the ceremony is connected with the " ancient fire-worship, and seems to be of the nature of a sacrifice. The purpose of the " sacrifice is also clear ; but the thing originally sacrificed is not so evident.

" That it was a barrel cannot readily be accepted : but whatever it was at first, its having " come latterly to be a barrel is easily accounted for as soon as fishing became a trade, and " transport of fish an important matter. The remote origin of the rite and the circumstances " of the people suggest that the article devoted to the fire-god was probably that which was " used for capturing or carrying the fish, or in which they were stored or kept. If the former, " it was in all likelihood some kind of wicker-work vessel ; and if the latter, a simple box or " chest. And whichever it was it would be called by its native Celtic name, and that name " would be known and used wherever there were such native fishermen and such fire-worship.

" On turning to our native Celtic language for the root of this term *Clavie*, we find *cliabh* " (pronounced *kleav*), a creel, hamper, basket ; and from this comes *cibbe* or *cliffe*, the " name given to the rough basket or creel with a rope attached, in which the Highland " crofters to this day carry manure a-field on their back. Now, if the original clavie was " some such creel or basket, the burning of it would be a rite similar in its nature to that of " burning the new cart that brought home the ark from the country of the Philistines—a " solemn devotional act or prayer for good luck.

" Again, if the vessel used was the store-vessel of the family, or of the chief of the com- " munity, then it was probably a simple box or chest, without the lid—a fish-ark, it might " be called, as the meal-store was, and is still called the meal-ark. And just as in the case " of tea, the chest containing it came to be used as a term of measure or quantity—a chest of

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"tea—though the chests are of various sizes, so also the store-ark of old, at least those for "grain and meal, came to be the measure for sale or purchase, as in our boll, chalder, clevin, "etc. Besides, the earliest measures used were made of wicker or wattle work; and the "oldest measure of which we know anything—the *clevin*, was literally and originally a creel, "though latterly it became a chest or box. So *clevin*, a measure, might have been used as "a term for store-chest or ark, and said ark would still retain the name even when it had "become a barrel or tub. All this is very probable perhaps, but still only a probability.

"With the other terms to which you refer there is much less difficulty.

"1. *Dourie* or *Doorie*. If the term means the pillar with socket for the barrel-spoke or "stick, or the pile of stones in which said spoke used to be set, then the name is simply a "corruption of *tour*, a tower, in its Old French form *tur*; *turie* being the diminutive. But it "might also apply to the socket itself, as being the entrance or seat of the spoke. In that "case *dourie* or *doorie* may be the diminutive of door, in the sense of entrance way, passage "for, and then hold for; and this is the more probable since the seat or passage had "originally to be made each time the rite was gone through. *Door* is from the Anglo-Saxon. "*duru;* in Dutch *deur*, in Icel. *dyrr* and Dan. *dör*.

"The term *door* is still used in this sense both in building and machinery, as in *vent-door*, "*smoke-door* in the construction of houses, and *shaft-door*, *valve-door* and various other forms, "of openings for the insertion or fixing of particular parts in the construction of machines. "Each of these when spoken of specially is simply called the *door*. In this connection the "term *bore* may be cited when applied to the socket for a flag-post, as in the *Bore-stone* that "is, or at least used to be, on the field of Bannockburn.

"2. *Churls*.—About this word there can be no doubt. It is just a form of *curl* as applied "to a chip, splint or shaving; and is so used in reference to chips of wood and bits of coal "suitable for ready use and rapid kindling—in short, to handy bits; and such bits are called "*chirlie* or *churly* or *curly* bits to this day, *Curl*, which even later than Chaucer's day was "*crul*, is from Old Dutch *crul*, a curl, *krullen* to curl; and *krullen*, as Prof. Skeat rightly "suggests, is from an older and fuller form *kreukelen*, to crimp, crumple, crumble, break "up.

"3. *Struts*.—The meaning of this word is also a certainty; for it is still used in architec-"ture and mechanics. A *strut* is a piece of wood or metal used for keeping the ends of "beams apart, or is fixed to the side of the stretcher in order to stiffen or strengthen it. "And this is just what the *struts* of the clavie are meant to do when they are securely fixed "to the bottom of the barrel. The term, in fact, is simply our English word *strut*, meaning "to stiffen up, to stretch out, or both combined. Thus when a pompous person is said to "strut about, every bit of him is braced up, and every motion is a stretching out of stiffened "limbs. It comes from our M. Eng. *strouten*, to stretch out, which again may be from the "Icel. *strutr*, projection, or Low Ger. *strutt*, rigid."

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No. V

ANNUAL EXCURSION OF THE SOCIETY FOR 1890.

FAVOURED by fine weather, the Members of the Society paid a visit on Tuesday, 9th September, to St. Andrews. Among those present were Mr. John Honeyman, F.R.I.B.A., President, Dr. Mackinlay, ex-Preceptor Wilson, F.S.A. Scot., J. O. Mitchell, F.S.A. Scot., Alex. M. Scott, F.S.A. Scot., J. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., F.R.S.E., and William George Black, F.S.A. Scot., Hon. Secretaries, Principal Dyer, P. Sturrock of Baltersan, late M.P. for the Kilmarnock Burghs, Colonel Stirling of Gargunnock, John Coubrough of Blanefield, Archibald Brownlie of Monkcastle, J. B. Wingate, Alexander Drew, R. Hunter Dunn, Duncan Keith, John Brand, A. N. Bertram, Henry B. Fyfe, George W. Burnet, Advocate, Campbell Douglas, F.R.I.B.A., David Robertson, William Stevenson, W. R. M. Church, C.A., James A. Petrie, Alexander Roberts, F.S.A. Scot., Thomas Adam, T. B. Henderson, M.D., James Howatt, W. E. Wingate, Colonel Menzies, Hew Mackenzie, R. Cooper Rundell, Robert Frame, James Caldwell, F.S.A. Scot., William Johnstone, &c.

Leaving Glasgow at 9 a.m., the visitors arrived, *via* the Forth Bridge route, at Leuchars Junction about 11.15, and proceeded in brakes to the old church of Leuchars, which was described in detail by Mr. Honeyman and by the Rev. R. Johnston, parish minister. Mr. Honeyman pointed out that this church is one of the most interesting of the few Norman buildings remaining in Scotland. The ancient work still standing consists of the chancel with its apsidal east end, and a small portion of the north wall of the nave. The present parish church is built on the old site of the nave, but is wider than the former building, and is of a plain unpretending character. The chancel arch between it and the old building is closed, and the pulpit stands in the centre. Indeed, the arrangements at the east end are quite behind the age, and no advantage is taken of the beautiful relic which sadly wants a little more attention. The chief peculiarity of Leuchars church is the richness of its detail. Both the chancel and the apse have superimposed arcading. In the

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upper tier of each the windows are introduced, and those on the inside have all small shafts in the jambs, carrying moulded and inserted rear arches. Zig-zags and attics, characteristic ornaments of the Norman style, are very freely introduced, and the florid delicacy of the carvings on the capitals, corbels, and mouldings of every kind is as remarkable as it is profuse. The visitors observed with great regret that this most interesting work of art is being rapidly destroyed by water being allowed to percolate through the walls, and their feeling was that, if no one in the neighbourhood would be responsible for its preservation, steps should be taken to arouse sufficient public interest to at least get the old building made watertight. Mr. Honeyman pointed out that a great deal of the mischief was due to the belfry erected on the apse about 150 years ago, which he said should be removed, the vault under it repaired, and the apse properly roofed, as was originally intended.

From Leuchars the party drove to Earlshall, an interesting example of the finest type of the Scots mansion-house of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The lands of Earlshall derived their name from the fact that the Macduff Earls of Fife had a castle in the immediate neighbourhood. Later they were for centuries the property of a branch of the Bruce family. The best known of the Bruce lairds was the "Earlshall," who took so active a part along with Sir Thomas Dalzell, Grierson of Lag, and Johnston of Westerhall, in the tracking down of the Covenanters. The estate has, however, long since passed out of the hands of its old owners, and now belongs to the trustees of Colonel Long. The house (as is shown by an inscription within the building) was begun by William Bruce of Earlshall, in 1546, and completed by his grandson, Sir William Bruce, in 1607. Though the exterior of the quaint old building is very interesting from an architectural point of view, what most attracted the attention of the visitors was the fine painted ceiling in the upper hall, or withdrawing room. The length of this apartment is 50 feet 6 inches, and its breadth 18 feet 6 inches, and the centre walls and roof have been most elaborately decorated. A painted frieze runs along the top of the hall, and the spaces are filled in with proverbs and maxims. Above this is the ceiling, formed of deal boards painted with alternate rows of round and square panels, the former of these containing the arms of various Scots families with which the Bruces of Earlshall were connected, besides the mythical bearings of such heroes as

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Hector, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, &c., the latter containing representatives of various animals. The Society observed with deep regret the dilapidated condition into which this most interesting ceiling and other parts of the edifice had been allowed to fall.*

From Earlshall to St. Andrews is a pleasant drive of six miles, and the party lunched punctually at 1.30, at Rusack's Marine Hotel, where they were joined by the Very Reverend the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, the Rev. A. K. H. Boyd, D.D. After lunch, Dr. Boyd and Mr. Hay Fleming, F.S.A. Scot., took charge of the whole arrangements, and no better guides could possibly have been found. The West Port was first visited. The exact date of its erection is unknown, but it has been assigned to the latter part of the fifteenth century. Here Charles II. received the silver keys of the city in 1650. In 1843, the Port was "completely renovated" and considerably altered. A portion of the Black Friars Chapel, which was next visited, is all that remains of the monastery of the Black Friars, founded and endowed by William Wishart, bishop from 1272 to 1279. In the early part of the sixteenth century it was rebuilt. Cardinal Beaton is believed to be buried here. It was on Sunday, 11th June, 1559, that Knox here preached his famous sermon on the "Purgation of the Temple," and he continued his preaching on the three following days with such effect that, on Wednesday, the various churches of St. Andrews were stripped of their emblems, and the monasteries of the Black and Gray Friars destroyed utterly. The parish church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, is believed to have been founded by Bishop Turgot (1109-1115), and was situated near the east gable of the cathedral. In 1412, the Town Church was erected on its present site in the heart of the city, but at the close of the last century it was almost entirely rebuilt, little of the old building being left, except the steeple and a few round pillars and semi-circular arches. The features of the church were pointed out by Dr. Boyd, who also described the imposing marble monument in memory of Archbishop Sharp, as well as the plate presented by that Archbishop and by the Carstairs family.

The visitors were then conducted to St. Mary's College, where they were welcomed by Principal Cunningham. The College was founded in 1537 by

* Since this account was written, Earlshall has been purchased by Mr. Mackenzie of Perth, and is being carefully restored.

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Archbishop James Beaton, and finished by Archbishop Hamilton. The court with the stately residence of the Principal, forms one of the loveliest pictures in even picturesque St. Andrews. The adjoining library of the University, with its books and MSS., maces and pictures, was also hurriedly inspected. The remains of St. Leonard's College were next visited. Originally an hospital, then a retreat for old and pious women, it was in 1512 that Prior John Hepburn and Archbishop Alexander Stewart, son of James IV., converted St. Leonard's into a college. The martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton in 1528 excited enquiry into the opinions for which he suffered, and many were convinced of their truth. Gavin Logie, the then Principal of the College, so instilled the reformed doctrines into his students that it became proverbial to say of any who savoured of heresy—"Ye have drunk of St. Leonard's well." The old class-rooms, and the western part of the residential building, are now used as a school for girls. The chapel of St. Leonard was used as the church of St. Leonard's parish till 1759. Its extreme length is 80 feet, and the width 20 feet 8 inches. In the east gable, there are two curious passages, the one over the other. Each is fully 6 feet high and 2 feet wide. In Mr. Fleming's view, those passages may have been intended for the use of leprous priests. As priests they would still be near the altar, while as lepers they would be outside the church. The ruins of the cathedral were then carefully inspected, and by the courtesy of Major Randle Jackson (in whose grounds they now are), what remains of the former cloisters, were examined. It was in this cathedral that James V. was married to Mary of Guise, and here Patrick Hamilton, George Wishart, and Walter Myln were tried and condemned. No written evidence has yet been discovered to show how or when the cathedral fell. There is nothing to show that in 1559 the reformers, though they burned the so-called "idols," injured the fabric itself. Indeed, in Mr. Fleming's view, it may be inferred from several expressions that it was uninjured. The fall probably was induced by the inherent weakness of the building. In all probability, if there had not been such a commodious parish church for the accommodation of the citizens, the cathedral would have been kept in good repair, and might have stood to our own time. The cathedral was founded about 1160. Its extreme length inside is 355 feet; but attention was drawn to a recent discovery, which proves almost incontestably that at one time it had been at least two or three bays

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longer. The square tower of St. Regulus, and thereafter, the Kirkhill with its remains of an ancient church, the Castle and its curious "bottle" dungeon and subterranean passage, St. Salvator's College with Kennedy's monument, the United College with its beautiful mace, archery medals, and carved furniture, and the Museum with its rich collection of fossils, sculptured stones and urns, were successively visited.

The party dined at six o'clock in the Marine Hotel, the President in the chair, with the Moderator on his right hand and Principal Cunningham on the left. About 50 gentlemen were present. The Chairman, in proposing the guests, coupled with the toast the names of Dr. Boyd, Principal Cunningham, the Rev. R. Johnston, and Mr. Hay Fleming, and expressed the warm thanks of the members for the admirable arrangements made by those gentlemen to enable as much of St. Andrews as possible to be seen within a short time. The Moderator replied. Leaving St. Andrews at 7.15, the party returned to Glasgow.

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INSTITUTED 1856.

THE object of this Society is the encouragement of the study of Archæology generally, and more particularly in Glasgow and the West of Scotland.

Meetings are held in the SOCIETY'S CHAMBERS, 207 Bath Street, *at Eight o'clock p.m.* on the *third Thursday* of the months of November, December, January, February, March, and April. The Annual Excursion takes places in August or September, and during the Session monthly Saturday-afternoon Excursions are made to places of archæological interest in the neighbourhood of Glasgow.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

GLASGOW ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

No. VI.

PEEL: ITS MEANING AND DERIVATION.

BY

GEORGE NEILSON, F.S.A.Scot.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 9th January, 1891.*]

THIS paper[1] is an attempt to trace the historical evolution of the word 'peel'—a name now practically appropriated to the small, strong rectangular towers of stone[2] which, sometimes moated, sometimes surrounded by a 'barmkin' or exterior wall, stud the English and Scottish border with memorials of ancient international feuds. It is emphatically a word with a history, to which neither lexicographer nor antiquary has yet done justice.

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1. NOTE OF EXPLANATION OF SOME CONTRACTED REFERENCES.

Bain=Calendars of Documents relating to Scotland. Ed. Joseph Bain. (Record publication.)

Bower=Bower's Scotichronicon. Ed. Goodal.

Exch. Rolls=Exchequer Rolls of Scotland. (Record publication.)

Hamilton Papers=(Record publication. Ed. Joseph Bain.)

L.Q.=Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobæ, 1299-1300.

R.S.=Rolls series.

Rot. Scot.=Rotuli Scotiæ. (Record publication.)

Stevenson=Historical Documents Scotland, 1286-1306. Ed. Joseph Stevenson. (Record publication.)

2. Excellent general descriptions of these towers are given by Mr. C. C. Hodges in the *Reliquary*, v. pp. 1-10, and by Chancellor R. S. Ferguson, in his *History of Cumberland*, 236. See also an interesting sketch of the border tower system in Canon (now Bishop) Creighton's *Carlisle*, pp. 82-84. I differ from them all, however, as to the meaning and history of *peel*.

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As is not unusual in matters philological it is necessary at the outset to discard some preconceptions,[1] to get rid of the idea that peel meant from the first what it means now, and to be prepared to find that in the course of some six centuries the signification has altered. Was our peel always a tower of stone, as all previous writers on the subject have assumed? If not, what was it? Whence comes it—from Latin *Phala*, an oval tower;[2] from Latin *pila*, a pile;[3] from Celtic *peel* or *pill*, an earthen mound or castle:[4] or from any of them? Before offering an answer I submit my evidence.

I.—Peels of Edward I.

The oldest proper examples of the word known to me occur in the accounts of the costs of the Scottish wars of Edward I. The first peel on record is that of Lochmaben: the next is at Dumfries. Others soon follow at Linlithgow and Selkirk.

1. *Lochmaben:*

Edward retiring from Scotland after the battle of Falkirk in 1298, had taken possession of the castle of the Bruces at Lochmaben, referred to as a *castrum*[5] and as a *chastel*.[6] That winter a considerable addition was made to its defensive strength, as appears from payments[7] made to English labourers, sawyers and carpenters *(ad faciendum pelum ibidem)* for making a peel there. The entry as regards the sawyers is *(ad sarranda ligna pro constructione peli)* for sawing wood for the making of the peel. This leaves little doubt that the peel was essentially a wooden structure. Its character is further illustrated by an order[8] issued in November, 1299, to provide for the

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1 I begin with some of my own contained in *Annandale under the Bruces*, pp. 28-9.

2 Jamieson's *Dictionary*.

3 Professor Skeat in his Supplement to his Dictionary.

4 I think I have heard this derivation eloquently maintained by Professor John Veitch.

5 Trivet (English Hist. Soc.) 374. Probably this castle then stood on the old site now known as the Castlehill. The argument that chiefly persuades me into that belief is touched upon in my last note on Selkirk peel *infra*.

6 Stevenson, ii. 333.

7 Stevenson, ii. 361.

8 Stevenson, ii. 404, 405. Bain, ii. 1112.

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sure keeping of the close outside the castle, strengthened by a palisade—*custodia clausi extra castrum de Loghmaban palitio firmati.* This passage points with great clearness to the conclusion that the peel was this palisaded or stockaded close, forming an outer rampart extending the bounds and increasing the accommodation of the castle. In 1300 houses[1] had been made in the 'piel,' and in 1301 the 'pele' was unsuccessfully assailed[2] by the Scots. In the writs relative to Lochmaben Castle in subsequent years, very many of them conjoin the peel with the castle,[3] the full name and style of which was *castrum et pelum.* In 1376 payments[4] were made for planks and to carpenters at the new front called 'la Pele,' and the entry distinctly contrasts with that which follows for 'stanworke' of the castle itself. So late as 1397 English writs refer to the castle and peel.[5] The nature of the peel of Lochmaben is thus tolerably definite.

2. *Dumfries:*

Still more so is the evidence from Dumfries. A castle was there,[6] just as at Lochmaben, before the peel was made by King Edward in the autumn of 1300. In September Friar Robert of Ulm and with him Adam of Glasham and many other carpenters were busy in the forest of Inglewood in Cumberland making the peel, as the account[7] phrases it, which was to be set up round about the castle of Dumfries. King Edward visited them one day. The queen visited them another.[8] The exigencies of war demanded haste, and the work was pushed on with all possible energy. Soon we hear that the king has gone to Dumfries, perhaps escorting the workmen and the materials,

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1 Stevenson, ii. 408, *Les maisons quil ad fait en le piel de Loghmaban.*

2 Stevenson, ii. 432.

3 In 1300 *L.Q.* 120; in 1304 Bain, ii. 1525; in 1334-36-37-38,-41-56-60; *Rot. Scot.*, i. 263, 264, 276, 280, 281, 399, 479, 550, 607, 793, 846.

4 Bain, iv. 231.

5 Bain, iv. 494.

6 Stevenson, ii. 333, 413; *Exch. Rolls*, i. 37; *Rot. Scot.*, i. 7, 12.

7 *L.Q.* 165, *Carpentariis facientibus pelum in foresta de Ingelwode assidendum circa astrum de Dumfres.*

8 *L.Q.* 167. This entry repeats the phrase of the last one precisely.

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(pour lever son pel e efforcer le chastel) to raise his peel and strengthen the castle.[1] Cordage and other necessaries were purchased to bind up the timber[2] for conveyance to the peel, and other arrangements were made for the same purpose.[3] Precise details are lacking as to the mode of conveyance, but whilst some of the material was transported by sea up the river Nith,[4] it is probable that the bulk of it was conveyed by the workmen themselves under convoy of the expeditionary force, a part of which the king had reviewed[5] at Carlisle on 15th October. On the 18th he appears to have reached Annan,[6] doubtless, with a detachment of his army on the march. Possibly the work of erecting the peel at Dumfries began before his arrival there, for the accounts[7] leave it uncertain how much of the work of the carpenters and others at the peel was done at Inglewood Forest, and how much on the spot. By the 20th of October, at latest, the task was being pushed briskly forward by all hands at Dumfries. Ditchers, carpenters and smiths toiled hard at the digging of ditches and planting and rearing of beams and palisades. The wages account shews that from first to last the carpenters (on an average to the number of over 60, but sometimes over 100 being employed) laboured for 11 weeks. The ditchers, numbering about 250, worked for a fortnight only. There were about two dozen smiths. It is obvious, therefore, how greatly the carpenter-work predominated. The term employed[8] in the entries describing these labours is usually very general—for work (*circa pelum*) about the 'peel.' We are not told very precisely what was done by the

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1 Stevenson, ii. 296. There can be no doubt that Father Stevenson is in error in assigning this letter to August, 1298. There was no peel being raised at Dumfries then. All the circumstances point clearly to the letter having been written in October, 1300. See the letter, note its contents, and compare—Bain, iii. 1154, 1164, 1165, 1171, 1172, 1174, 1175; iv. p. 446; *L.Q.* 13, 73, 265. The matter cannot be discussed at greater length here.

2 *L.Q.* 74.

3 Bain, iv. 1783; *L.Q.* 265.

4 *L.Q.* 268.

5 *L.Q.* 260.

6 *L.Q.* 43.

7 *L.Q.* 264-5.

8 *Operancium circa pelum de Dumfres*, *L.Q.* 6, 7, 264, 268; *Pro factura et operacione peli* *L.Q.* 263; *Pro factura peli*, *L.Q.* 265, 268; *Pro pelo faciendo*, *L.Q.* 268.

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ditchers *(fossatores)* but one entry[1] makes express what otherwise would have gone without saying, that it was a fosse *(fossatum)* they were making. That entry shews that women were employed to clear out the ditch which the men had dug. By the 30th of October all was virtually complete. There still remained some wood-work to do, but broadly speaking the peel was finished. From these particulars it is easy to infer the character of King Edward's peel. A very odd entry[2] shews that an axe was borrowed to cut trees near Dumfries, 'for pales there.' The pales cut with that axe (which by the way was not returned to its owner) doubtless went, with hundreds of others, to the making of the peel. The castle appears to have had thrown round it, some little distance out from the walls, a strong palisade or stockade, beyond which again a large fosse was dug. This palisaded and moated *enceinte* constituted the peel.

Within it buildings might be erected, such as barracks, or store rooms, or stables. The existence of houses in the peel at Lochmaben has been noticed. At Dumfries the same must have been the case, for there are three consecutive entries[3] in the wages accounts—(1) for the cavalry in the castle *(infra municionem castri)*; (2) for the cavalry in the peel, *(infra municionem peli de Dumfres post constructionem ejusdem peli)*; and (3) for the engineers and others in the castle *(infra municionem ejusdem castri)*, shewing by the clearest contrast, that the peel had a garrison of its own after 2nd November, 1300.

3. *Linlithgow:*

In 1301 King Edward spent the winter at Linlithgow, and instituted a series of extensive changes on the castle there. Here again he had a fortress already existing,[4] and in spite of Lord Hailes[5] to the contrary, I am satisfied from the records, that it is quite a mistake to say that he built a castle. Before proceeding to show from the contemporary authorities what he actually

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1 *L.Q.* 269.

2 Bain, iv. 1783.

3 *L.Q.* 142-43.

4 *Chastel de Linlithqu* in 1296. See Stevenson, ii. 98.

5 Hailes' *Annals*, anno 1301.

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did, I shall briefly examine the statements of Fordun and Wyntoun, from which erroneous inferences have been drawn.

Fordun[1] says that in 1301 the *municipium* or peel of Linlithgow *(municipium scilicet Pel de Lithcu)* was constructed by the King of England.[2] The same statement is made with a curious variation by Wyntoun[3] who says that—

> 'Wyth the Lang schankis this Edwardt,
> Kyng off Ingland, coyme efftyrwart,
> And Lynlythkow fayre and welle,
> Gert byg and mak thare the Pelle.'

This passage plainly means that the King built Linlithgow itself, and made the peel. It seems to be not altogether improbable that Wyntoun mistook the meaning of *municipium*, interpreting it in its classical sense as a town, and unaware of the medieval signification with which Fordun employed it *Municipium* in Low Latin[4] is used to denote an outer fortification, the adjunct to a castle or town—in short is a synonym for a peel, as defined by the facts at Lochmaben, Dumfries, and, as will be seen, Linlithgow also.

The account[5] for the making of the peel in November, 1301 (although the word peel is never used in it), is very explicit. It shows that it furnished employment to 80 ditchers for 8 days, and to 107 carpenters for the same period. Evidently, therefore, the work resembled in all respects that at Lochmaben and Dumfries. In the spring of 1302 considerable extensions were contracted for.[6] In the summer there was demand[7] for 30 more of the best carpenters, and the sending of 19 in July is on record.[8] In September the work was so far advanced that there was nothing further[9] to do 'except 14

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1 Fordun, Skene's ed. i. 332.

2 A variant is given in a footnote—*municipium de Lynlicqu quod Anglice Pele vocatur.* This is the reading in the corresponding passage in Bower, ii. 220.

3 Wyntoun, viii. (end of chap. 15).

4 See passage cited by Du Cange—*muncipia et incurtes præter castrum subvertens*—from Suger's Vie de Lous le Gros (edition of 1887 p. 133). Compare Raoul Glaber (1886) p. 19 —*municipia civitatum vel castrorum.* These cannot denote the castle itself.

5 Stevenson, ii. 441.

6 Bain, ii. 1321 § 15.

7 Bain, ii. 1308.

8 Bain, ii. 1398.

9 Bain, ii. 1324.

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perches of peel and 6 bretasches'—these latter being[1] a species of wooden turrets usually accompanying peel-work. In 1303 we hear[2] of the 'Pele': in 1304 of[3] the 'Pel': in 1305 of[4] the keeper *(custos peli regis)* of the King's peel. Repairs executed in 1304, because a storm[5] had broken down a bit of the peel and fosse *(parte peli et fossati)*, prove the close association of the two. From this time forward there are frequent allusions[6] to the peel, until 1311, when, as Barbour minutely describes, the place was won from the English, who had held it so long. He tells[7] us that—

> 'At Lythkow wes than a pele,
> Mekill, and stark, and stuffyt wele,'

and how the patriotic Scots essayed 'castellis and peyllis for to ta,' of which Linlithgow was one. The 'pele' and castle were captured by the stratagem of stopping a cart of hay in the gateway.

In the *Scottish Exchequer Rolls* mention is made of the meadow[8] of the 'pele' *(prati de le Pele de Lithqw)*; there are other references to the same effect,[9] and it is remarkable that to this day[10] the good people of Linlithgow apply the term 'the peel' not to the castle (as most writers apply it) but to the meadow ground outside the walls of the palace, and lying virtually all round it, forming a sort of headland jutting into the loch, and having the palace seated in the middle of it, near its southern boundary. There can be little doubt that local tradition has thus preserved the evidence of the position occupied by the extensive

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1 Du Cange, voce *bretachiæ*, Viollet-le-Duc voce *bretesche*.

2 Bain, ii. 1422.

3 Bain ii. 1586.

4 Stevenson, ii. 494.

5 Bain iv. p. 459.

6 *Rot. Scot*, i. 111. Bain, iii. 121, 254, 317, 682, pp. 411-12.

7 Barbour's *Bruce*, book vii. 435.

8 *Exch. Rolls*, v. 588.

9 *Reg. Magni Sigilli*, 1546-90, No. 1768, See letter in 1599, by James VI., where complaint is made of encroachments which caused the loch to 'overflow our peill and orchardis.' The inhabitants of the burgh used to bleach their clothes in the 'peel.' Waldie's History of Linlithgow, 1858, pp. 76-77.

10 My attention was drawn to this by Dr. Dickson of the Register House, whom it is a great pleasure to thank for his kindly interest in this paper.

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stockaded or palisaded and moated close which Edward I. added to Linlithgow Castle.

4. *Selkirk:*

Whilst the work was still going on at Linlithgow, another peel was in hand at Selkirk. According to the *Scalacronica* it was Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, who made it.[1] 'At Selkirk, the said Eymer *(fist afermer un piele)* caused a 'piele' to be fortified.' The existence of a castle at Selkirk was of old standing, as it is mentioned in a charter of David I. It was a residence of the kings of Scotland certainly as late as the time[2] of Alexander III. Probably, however, it was of no great account as a fortress in 1302. The accounts[3] for the making of this peel are very like those for the others. There were employed carpenters, masons, hewers, smiths, barrowmen[4] (*baiardi*), wood-cutters felling trees in the forest, ditchers, carriers, and women carrying hods *(hottas)* of lime and fuel. At Selkirk, however, a tower was built which would appear to have been of wood[5] as the western doorway in it is specially referred to as having been 'faced with stone,' a phrase incompatible with a stone building, In September one memorandum[6] states that there are 14 perches of 'pele' made, and another[7] adds that there are 43 perches of 'pel' yet to make, whilst the stonework of the chief gate is raised above ground to the drawbridge.

Sir Alexander de Balliol was made keeper[8] of the new fortress. Looking to the nature of it as defined in the accounts, we cannot wonder that it was

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1 *Scalacronica*, 127. I think it is very doubtful whether it was he that made it, but for present purposes that point is of no account.

2 *Scots Acts*, (Thomson) i. (red ink pages) 91, 390-2, 405; *Melrose Cartulary*, 274; Craig Brown's *Selkirkshire*, i. 10.

3 Bain iv, 468-9.

4 *Baiardi*: compare *baiardores*, Bain iv, 1786. From baiard, a hand-barrow. See New English Dictionary *voc. baiardour, bayard.*

5 Bain ii, 1324 p. 339-40.

6 *Ibid.* p. 340.

7 *Ibid.*

8 Bain, ii. p. 337.

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called a peel. Indeed the instructions[1] for its erection were that it was to be 'a pele with a stone gateway.' This, and this alone, it was.[2]

The peel was not long held. The 'roaring sweep of border fray' soon bore it out of the English grasp. Alexander de Balliol was pardoned[3] by King Edward in 1305 'for the loss of the pele of Selkirk.' The last entry I have noticed[4] about it in a military capacity is in 1311. The name, notwithstanding, was tenacious.

Lands called 'le Pele' are repeatedly on record[5] in the Selkirk accounts for the fifteenth century. The Peilhill, Pielhill, or Pelehill[6] also, certainly the site of the Peel and locally believed to have been the site of the old castle as well,[7] is frequently mentioned in early writings, and is still well-known. The fosse dug in 1302 is referred to in 1535 as the Peel-seugh—and is visible to this day.[8] Even the stockade or other wood-work, which distinctively constituted the peel, appears also to be alluded to in the mention[9] in 1535 of the 'auld barros' in close connection with the Peel-seuch. Now, *barras* or *barrers* (with a wide variety of spellings) has two main meanings, one being the lists for knightly encounters,[10] the other being the palisade in front

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1 Bain, ii. 1722. I think this writ clearly belongs to the summer of 1302. The date-fixing reference to the 'K's last Parliament at London' must mean that of June, 1302. See Stubbs' *Select Charters* (1884), p. 446.

2 Mr. Craig Brown, in his *Selkirkshire*, appears to favour the view that it was a regular stone castle that was built. I see no evidence of this. If there was a castle, why is it virtually unheard of ever after?

3 Bain, ii. 1649.

4 Bain, iii. 218.

5 *Exch. Rolls*, v. 400, 440; viii. 104.

6 *Exch. Rolls*, viii. 4; *Retours, Selkirkshire*, 1, 5, 65, 91; *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, ii. year 1509, No. 3388.

7 Craig Brown's *Selkirkshire*, i. 10.

8 Craig Brown's *Selkirkshire*, pp. 10, 41.

9 Craig Brown's *Selkirkshire*, p. 41.

10 I may cite the index of *Trial by Combat* for many references.

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of a fortress.[1] I have little doubt that the latter sense[2] belonged to the 'auld barros' in the records at Selkirk in 1535.

5. *Berwick*:

These are all the clear cases known to me of peels made in Scotland by Edward I., but there is yet one other piece of evidence as to the nature of these fortifications which is of exceptional interest for more reasons than one. I have purposely kept it out of its chronological place because it might conceivably be argued that it is not a true peel. When the war of independence broke out and King Edward was besieging Berwick, he was assailed with derisive shouts by the inhabitants of the town, who jeered at him in rhyme.[3]

> "Kyng Edward wanne thu havest Berwic pike the;
> Wanne thu havest geten dike the.'

The reason for the taunt is not explained by the historians, but it is not impossible that some encampment with digging of ditches and making of palisades on the north side of Berwick—between the town and the Scots, perhaps in rear of the English army—may have occasioned the taunt, which was cruelly avenged by the slaughter of 8,000 citizens after the rampart had been stormed. Be the explanation what it may, Edward literally accepted the jeering counsel given to him, and proceeded to secure Berwick by greatly strengthening its fortifications. He made a great ditch 80 feet in breadth and 40 feet deep.[4] One version[5] of a rhyme made by the victorious Englishmen reads thus;

> "Piket him and diket him, in skorn seiden he,[6]
> Nu piketh he[7] it and diketh it his owen for to be."

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1 *New Eng. Dictionary*, voce Barrace.

2 The same consideration has led me to alter the opinion I once held about the site of Lochmaben Castle. The fact, that the Barras at Lochmaben is near the old site of the castle and in the town, convinces me that when the peel was made, the castle was on its old site, now known as the Castlehill, not its present one. This matter is, however, too large to handle here.

3 Rishanger (*R.S.*) 373. Even more objectionable insults were levelled at him from the walls. See *Lanercost Chron.* 173.

4 Hemingburgh ii, 99.

5 Quoted in Wright's *Political Songs* (Camden Society) p. 392; to be compared with p. 286, also with Langtoft (*R.S.*) ii, 234.

6 *i.e.* The jeering Scot. 7 *i.e.* King Edward.

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The meaning of this I suppose to be that, taking the sneering Scot at his word, King Edward 'diket him' by making the great fosse, and 'piket him' by erecting a serried line of palisades—not unfitly to be called pikes—along the bank. This is not *a priori* reasoning, it is history; for Rishanger[1] tells us circumstantially that the King, not forgetful of the banter and taunting of the Scots, ordered the fosse[2] to be dug, and 'great and long pales' to be planted on the summit of the bank, which was heightened by the dug-out earth. Indeed, so eager was the great Plantagenet over the work that, with his own royal hand, he laboured[3] with hod or barrow in the trench.

The nature of this fortification fully explains why in a document[4] of the year 1300, special provision is made 'for the defence of the town and pele.'

The sum and substance of the evidence afforded by the operations of Edward I. in Scotland is decisive that the peel, as made by him, was radically a moated palisade, usually forming the *enceinte* of an existing castle which needed either to have its strength increased or its accommodation extended.

II.—English-made Peels from 1307 to 1336.

6. *Perth*:

Passing with mere mention the peel of Livingstone[5] (concerning the original nature of which nothing substantial is known except that it was garrisoned by the troops of Edward), the fortifications of Perth fall next to be considered. In 1307 orders[6] had been issued for the fortification of Perth, with which the

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1 Rishanger (*R.S.*) 375.

2 Langtoft (*R.S.*) ii, 234, says much the same;

"*Le fet environer de fosse large et lee,*
En reprovante le Escot ke ad de ly chaunte."

3 *Et ut dicebatur, ipsemet cum vehiculo terram portabat ut foveam accumularet.* Rishanger, *ut supra.*

4 Bain, ii. 1171. I have met with no other allusion to the Berwick peel.

5 Bain, iii. p. 411. In 1311 there was a garrison *in municione peli de Leivingestone.* In late times it had a tower defended by an earthen rampart and a wide fosse. In 1594 this house is referred to as the Place of the Peill of Levingstoun. *Reg. Privy Council of Scotland*, v. 193.

6 Bain, ii. 1912.

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bergesses appear to have complied; for, some two years later, they complained[1] that no allowance had been granted them for the costs they had incurred in making *(entour cele pielle e le fosse)* a 'pielle' and fosse. More than twenty years afterwards these fortifications come very curiously to light in the records of the usurpation of Edward Balliol. In 1332, having, by the aid of his English and disaffected Scottish allies, defeated the Scottish army at the battle of Dupplin, he took possession of Perth. Its fortifications were old and decayed, but as he anticipated an early attack from the Earl of Fife, he immediately repaired them. The *Scalacronica*[2] says the repairs consisted of dressing up anew the old fosses and restoring their guard of bretasches. Another chronicle[3] says to the same effect that he strengthened the ruined fortifications *(cum palis et tabulis)* with pales and planks; whilst Knighton says that he fortified[4] the town *(cum larga fossura et de palo)* with a large fosse and a palisade. There was urgent need for these precautions, for the Earl was hovering in the rear. A stratagem of his[5] recalls the incident in Shakespeare's Macbeth, where, according to the astonished messenger, the wood began to move, forcing Macbeth to believe that the weird sisters' saying was fulfilled, and Birnam Wood was come to Dunsinane.

"The Earl Patrick, with his army, hastened to the wood of Lambirkin, where "he commanded them to make up loads and bundles of tree boughs and "branches to fill up the ante-mural fosses of Perth, and to advance with them "towards the town. But the men in the town, seeing as it were a thorn-wood[6] "marching towards them, were greatly afraid. However, putting themselves in

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1 Bain, iii. 68; *Nat. MSS. Scot.*, part ii. No. 15.

2 Scalacron, p. 160, *enfermerent la vile en reperaillaunt les veuts fosses qe chescun reperailla sa gard de bretage.*

3 *Chronicles of Edward I. and II. (R.S.)*, ii. 107. The *Lanercost Chron.*, 269, says Perth was unwalled—'*non murata.*'

4 Knigton (*R.S.*), 1464.

5 Bower, ii. 36.

6 *Pruinosum nemus.* This is translated by Wyntoun as 'hare wod,' which literally renders *pruinosus* = hoar or frosty. I do not understand this, and have, much doubting, preferred to suppose that the word was *prunosus.*

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"a posture of defence to safeguard the town, they waited in astonishment the "attack *(adventum exercitus nemorosi)* of the woody army."[1]

The woody army, however, unlike that of Malcolm when Macbeth 'tried the last' at Dunsinane, failed in its purpose to storm the 'pielle' of Perth, which, with its fosse and wooden wall,[2] appears to have resembled in all particulars those of its predecessors in other places.

7. *Liddell*:

The brightest of recent county historians devotes a single, brief, and quite inadequate sentence[3] to one of the finest historic remains in Cumberland. 'Liddell Moat,' he says, 'was probably the original *caput baroniæ* [of Liddell], and its vast earthworks are remarkable for size and preservation.'

The Moat stands nobly picturesque on the Liddell, near its junction with the Esk. It is a series of very deep and broad trenches, isolating and strongly fortifying a great mound—called by Dr. Skene[4] a 'magnificent hill-fort'—of which the northern side was already still more strongly guarded by the high and steep—indeed precipitous—river-bank. It is on English soil—soil which never was 'debatable.' It is, in spite of the silence of the county history, unquestionably the spot on which stood the castle of Lidel, which was taken[5] in 1174 by King William the Lion. In 1282 when an 'extent' was made of the manor of 'Lydel in Cumberland,' it was recorded by the jury[6] that 'there is at Lydel the site of a castle' with some buildings on it in bad repair. In 1300 an indenture[7] was entered into for 'repairing the mote and the fosses around; strengthening and re-dressing the same and the pele and the

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1 Wyntoun, viii. ch. 26, tells the same story, incidentally referring to the making of 'brettys' or bretasches by the town's defenders.

2 Described by R. de Avesbury as made, '*cum fossis et antris recipientibus aquam currentem in circuitu et muris ligneis.*' *Murimuth, etc.* (R.S.) 298.

3 R. S. Ferguson's *Cumberland*, 171.

4 *Celtic Scotland*, i. 157.

5 Benedictus Abbas (*R.S.*), i. 65.; Bain, i. 685.

6 Bain, ii. 208. The site of the castle is again referred to in 1349; Bain, iii. 1542.

7 Bain, ii. 1173.

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palisades, and making ditches within the moat, if necessary, for the safety of the men-at-arms of the garrison. Hence it is easy to understand why it is variously called, at one time, the 'Peel of Lidel,' and at other times the 'Peele of Lidel.' Various chroniclers give it the same name in their narratives of the events of 1346—the most fatal year in history. In his expedition into England in that year—an enterprise which resulted in his utter defeat at Durham, where he was taken prisoner—David II., the Bruce, son of Robert the Bruce, after crossing the Tyne besieged the place, which was held by Walter of Selby. One chronicle[1] calls it 'the fortalitium, of Lidelle,' another,[2] 'the Pyle of Lydele,' another,[3] 'the pile of Lidel.' Wyntoun[4] calls it 'Peel of Lydale' and 'Pele.' In the pages of Bower it bears the interesting name[5] 'municipium de Lidalis.' Most important of all, however, and undoubtedly as to the geographical identity of this peel with the old castle of the Umfravilles and the Wakes, is the testimony of Galfridus le Baker,[6] who calls it 'a manor place (quoddam manerium domina de Wake vocatum Ludedew[7]) of the lady of Wake.'

The defence was conducted with such gallantry that it was not until the fourth day, in the morning before daybreak, that an assault could be undertaken. The great ditch was filled up with wood and earth and fascines: the Scots, covered by their shields, advanced to the attack: with iron tools they tore down the foundations of its walls or ramparts; and at last they took by storm the stubborn peel. Walter of Selby, its captive captain, vainly appealing to the king's justice and mercy, was beheaded, with an aggravated vindictiveness

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[1] Bain, iii. 219.

[2] Bain, iii. 675.

[3] Lanercost Chron. 345. The *fortalitium* is exactly preserved in one of its modern names of Liddell *Strength*.

[4] Parkington, ap Leland T. i. p. 470, cited in Hailes' Annals *anno* 1346.

[5] Scalacronica (Leland's translation) 301.

[6] Wyntoun, viii. 6140-45.

[7] Bower, ii. 340. Compare observations on *municipium*, *supra*, p. 126.

[8] Galf. le Baker, ed. Giles, p. 170, see also Bain, i. 1557.

[9] Ludedew is obviously the blunder of a copyist. A double l in some old MSS. is easily mistaken for a w.

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unworthy of chivalry.[1] No one who has stood on the Strength of Liddell and in its mighty fosses will wonder at the gallant tenacity of its defence.

In the case of this peel there was no castle: there were great ditches: and the palisade constructed in 1300 may not improbably have been supplemented by works more durable. But to the last its characteristics assign it to the generic category of peel, a fort defended by a moated palisade.

Thus far the evidence with singular unanimity has gone to shew that a peel was essentially a structure of wood. In the example next to be considered we shall for the first time find a new element combining with wood in the construction.

8. *Kinross Fort.*

In 1335 the castle of Lochleven, held by the national party, was besieged by the Balliol faction, whose forces consisted of Englishmen and Anglified Scots. To blockade the island-castle the besiegers made a fort in St. Serf's Cemetery, near Kinross. This fort is never expressly named as a peel. Bower calls[2] it a 'fortalicium,' and Wyntoun,[3] a 'fortalys.' That in character it was near akin to a peel is, however, apparent from the description given of its construction. Bellenden, translating Boece, says[4] the besiegers 'maid thair bastailyeis and trinscheis of fale and devat[5] in the kirkyard of Sanct Sarfe beside Kinrosse.' The original passage in Boece's history as printed[6] does not contain an equivalent of this description of a fortress of sod, although a few lines further on Boece mentions[7] the making of a dam or *agger* with stones, trees, and sods (*lapides*, *arbores*, *cespites*), which dam Bellenden further describes[8] as 'ane high dyke . . . biggit . . . with fale, devat, and trees.' There is other and better evidence that the Kinross fort was indeed

[1] In 1358 Selby's son was served heir to his father, who was, as the jury testified, 'slain by the Scots in the pele of Lydelle.' Bain, iii. 1670.

[2] Bower, ii. 313.

[3] Wyntoun, viii. ch. 29.

[4] Bellenden's Boece (1821), ii. 426.

[5] Feal and Divot = turf, sods. See Jamieson's Dictionary.

[6] Boece (1574), folio 317.

[7] Ibid. 317 *verso*.

[8] Bellenden's Boece, ii. 426.

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so made, for Bower calls[1] it a fortalice of sod *(fortalicium de le fale)* and the Book of Pluscarden, still more explicit, says[2] its garrison made a strength in the churchyard, (*glebis terræque murantes firmaverunt et palis circumdederunt*) walling it with turf and surrounding it with pales. It would, therefore, seem that this fort wanted little except the name to make it a peel. Certain of its characteristics[3] may be found illustrative hereafter.

9. *Stirling.*

In 1336 Edward III., in prosecution of his designs for the conquest of Scotland, made large additions[4] to the fortifications of various castles. In particular between the autumn of that year and the following summer he executed extensive alterations on the castle of Stirling. The chronicle of Lanercost[5] says, that in room of the castle which had been destroyed he made a fort (*præsidium quod Peel Anglice vocabatur*) which, in English, was called a peel. In the accounts[6] rendered by the keeper of the castle the costs of the peel (*custus peli*) are fully set forth. The part selected for special strengthening was the inner bailey, a term which I understand to imply the inner ward or second line of defence of the castle. Possibly there was a ditch already there. Possibly the level of the inner bailey was so much higher than that of the outer or lower bailey as to make a ditch superfluous. At any rate the change now effected was to make a peel of this inner bailey

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[1] Bower, ii. 313.

[2] Liber Pluscardensis, i. 272.

[3] Extensive use was made of sods by the English in their operations in Scotland about this time. In 1335-36 repairs at Edinburgh Castle included earth and turf for daubing and roofing divers houses (*terram et turbas pro daubatura et pro coopertura diversarum domorum*), and for the making of walls of turf (*facientibus muros de turbis et fodientibus turbas*), and the digging of the turf.—See Bain, iii. p. 348. At Stirling in 1336-37 an account of wages *pro coopertura*, paid to the cutters of 'flaghturfs' (*fodiencium turbas vocatas flaghturfs*), shows that these turves—thin moory-surfaced sods are still called 'flaghs' or 'flax' in Southern Scotland, and the spade that cuts them is called 'flacterspade' (= of course to 'flaghturf-spade')—were for roofing purposes. Indeed one item is for the wages of men (*cooperiencium super dictas domos cum turbis*) 'covering over said houses with turf.'—Bain, iii. p. 365.

[4] Hailes' Annals, *sub anno* 1336.

[5] Lanercost Chron., 287.

[6] Bain, iii. pp. 364 to 368.

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(*pelam interioris ballii ex parte boriali castri*), in other words, to make the inner bailey a peel. The work appears to have been begun in November, 1336, and to have been finished about the end of the following March. The men engaged were 12 carpenters with 14 assistants for three weeks, 4 sawyers for one month, and 48 workmen for fifty-five days digging and 'daubing' a clayey mud or muddy clay. There are also mentioned 800 wicker hurdles for the work.[1]

On a consideration of all the items in the account, it would seem that the peel of Stirling resembled the earlier peels in all respects save one. If there was no entry for digging a ditch, that was presumably because no ditch was necessary. The wood work is abundantly evident. But one great outstanding fact remains—unaccounted for by anything we have yet found in the accounts for the making of any other peel. What means the mud or clay?

It was carried in hods (*in hottis*); it was tempered in mortar, which itself, perhaps, was largely composed of clay;[2] it was used 'to daub the said peel' (*pro dicta pela daubanda*), or as it is alternatively expressed (*daubancium parietes pele*) for daubing the walls or sides of the peel.

We must have regard also to the distribution of time and labour—here in marked contrast to the proportions at Dumfries and Linlithgow. There the burden and heat of the day fell on the carpenters: here it fell not on the carpenters but on the 'daubers,' who were far more in number and far longer employed. These contrasting facts are of the utmost significance. Before

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[1] Under the heading '*Custus pele castri et ingeniorum*' are the entries specially relative to the peel,—for the wages of '*xij carpentariorum* (for three weeks in November, 1336) *faciencium quandam pelam interioris ballii ex parte boriali castri*,' and for 14 men helping them '*in levacione ejusdem pele*,' also for 4 sawyers (for thirty days in January and February, 1337) sawing posts, joists, and planks '*tam pro portis castri quam bretagis pele*.' Also for '*dccc clais . . . pro scaffaldis in dicta pela inde faciendis et super costibus exterioribus ejusdem attachiandis*.' Also for 48 diggers for fifty-five days after 4th February, '*fodiencium lutum pro dicta pela daubanda illud portancium in hottis, ac temperancium in mortario, et daubancium parietes pele predicte*.'—Bain, iii. pp. 366-7. I have Mr. Bain's authority for the corrected reading '*lutum*' in this last passage instead of '*littum*' as printed in the calendar. I have to thank Mr. Bain for his trouble in re-examining the roll at my request, as well as for other courtesies.

[2] Wages were paid to men '*fodiencium argillum illud similiter et aquam portancium infra castrum, mortarium inde faciencium*.'—Bain, iii. p. 365.

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the stress was upon the wood: here it was upon the clay. Nor must the 800 wicker hurdles be forgotten, an adequate accounting for which is obviously essential to the cohesion of any explanation. To me it appears that there is only one conclusion possible, and that the whole circumstances necessitate the induction that the peel of Stirling was of the type still known in Southern Scotland as a 'clay-daubing'—a structure[1] in which a series of strongly jointed posts and beams formed the framework of a thick mud wall or wall of clay, to which the wattled wicker added cohesive strength.

This conclusion is rendered a certainty by the fact that in this very year 1336, Edward III. strengthened the fortifications of Perth with (*luteo muro spisso*) a thick mud wall,[2] which Wyntoun[3] calls 'the mwde wall dykis.'

Obviously the peel-work had developed during the course of the 14th century. A clay-daubed wall, with ribs and beams of timber at its heart,[4] was an advance upon the primal palisade. A clay-daubing (such as the 'auld clay biggin' in which Robert Burns first saw the light) is as impervious to fire as a stone building. This from a military standpoint was an advantage of the first moment.

III.—Other Early Peels.

If Blind Harry[5] might be trusted there would be ground for believing that in Wallace's time there was a peel at Gargunnock.[6]

> On Gargownno was byggyt a small peill
> That warnyst was with men and wittail weile,
> Within a dyk baith closs, chawmer, and hall.

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[1] See Jamieson's *Dictionary*, *voce* 'Cat and Clay' for a description of rural work of this kind. I have had it described to me by persons who had seen and taken part in it. The 'cat' was the wisp of straw, or the like, used in working the clay into a sufficiently dry and cohesive state. These buildings were capable of being very quickly erected and by unskilled labour. There was often a merrymaking to signalise such an occasion. My grandfather, who died twenty years ago aged ninety, has told me of his being present at such gatherings in Dumfriesshire. 'Wattle and daub' is another name for the same kind of work.

[2] *Lanercost Chron.* 286.

[3] Wyntoun, viii. 5558. See also Bower, ii. 307.

[4] Churches were made of this kind of material. See Du Cange, *voce luteus*.

[5] Wallace, iv. 213.

[6] The wood for the peel of Stirling in 1336 was from this place.

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The passage is at least decisive that the minstrel's conception of a peel did not greatly differ from that set forth in this paper. It was not a castle: it was a fortified close surrounded by a ditch—for of course Harry's 'dyk' has that meaning.[1]

We are on surer historic ground as to the making of a peel by Robert the Bruce. In 1326 he paid for[2] the construction of a new peel (*unius pele nove*) at West Tarbert, in the vicinity of his castle there. The mason who built the latter made the former also—a fact of some suggestiveness. Not a few peels come fitfully under notice in the 14th century, concerning which there is little information extant, so that only their spellings call for mention here. I cite those which I have observed, premising that I have no doubt scores of others could be found. The 'pile' of Horton[3] is named in 1316, the 'piles' of Boltone and Wytingam[4] in 1318, and the 'peel' of Heyheved[5] in 1322, these being all English. In Scotland we hear[6] in 1333 of a fortalice (*fortalicium quod tunc Anglice vocabatur Pele*) then called in English a 'pele.' In connection with this latter a highly interesting contrast is drawn. Wyntoun speaks[7] of 'foure castellis and a pelle,' equivalent to Bower's[8] correponding *quatuor castris cum uno fortalitio*—a sharp distinction indicating that the difference between peel and castle was not a mere question of size.

I have found few other notices of 14th century historical peels, except in general charter references[9] to *castrum et pelum* or *castrum pelum et fortalitium*

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[1] The ditch appears from 'Piers Ploughman,' passus xix. line 13684-7, to have been an essential. The people are commanded

'For to delven a dych
Depe aboute Unitee
That holy chirche stode in Unitee
As it a pyl weere.'

[2] *Exch. Rolls*, i. 53.

[3] Scalacron., 301. Trokelow (R.S.) 101, calls it *pelum*.

[4] Bain, iii. 632.

[5] *Lanercost Chron.* 250.

[6] Bower, ii. 311. Wyntoun, viii. end of chap. 27.

[7] Wyntoun, viii. 4007.

[8] Bower, ii. 311.

[9] See references *supra* to Lochmaben; also Du Cange, *voce Pela*. Rymer in 1336, 26th January.

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—references which, if they prove nothing, illustrate the distinction between castle and peel.

During the wars of Balliol and Edward III. there are, however, some rather confusing references. Thus Bower mentions[1] the tower (*turris*) of Kenmore, which Boece calls[2] a castle (*castellum*) and Wyntoun[3] a 'pele.' Similarly Fordun[4] names the castle (*castrum*) of Leuchars, which Wyntoun again designates[5] as a 'pele.' Such references to a time of rapid building and as rapid demolition of castles and fortresses are capable of another explanation, but they certainly suggest the probability that the term peel was coming in the 15th and 16th centuries to be used in a less severely technical sense than formerly.

IV.—Peels of the 16th century.

I have met with few or no historical instances of peels in the 15th century.[6] To all appearance the peel system of the Borders, originating in the harrassing warfare and feuds and the unceasing spoliations of the march territory, was not in full operation until the 16th century. A clue to the gradually changing meaning of the word, and at the same time an explanation of the prevalence of peels on the Border, is afforded by an Act of the Scottish Legislature in 1535. It must be examined with the microscopic eye.

'For Bigging of Strenthis on the Bordouris.

Item,[7] It is statut and ordanit for saiffing of men thare gudis and gere upoun the bordoris in tyme of were and all uther trublous tyme, That every landit man duelland in the Inland or upon the bordouris havand thare ane hundreth pund land of new extent sall big ane sufficient barmkyn apoun his heretage and landis in place maist convenient of stane and lyme contenand

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[1] Bower, ii. 321.

[2] Boece, 319 *verso*. Bellenden, ii. 430.

[3] Wyntoun, viii. 4709.

[4] Fordun, i. 362. Bower, ii. 323, 324.

[5] Wyntoun, viii. 5009.

[6] *Acta Dominorum*, p. 54, has 'The Peile' as a place name.

[7] *Scots Acts* (Thomson), ii. 346.

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thre score futis of the square[1] ane eln thick and vj. elnys heicht for the ressett and defens of him his tennentis and ther gudis in trublous tyme wt ane toure in the samin for him self gif he thinkis it expedient: And that all uther landit men of smallar rent and revenew big pelis and gret strenthis as thai ples for saifing of thare selfis men tennentis and gudis: And that all the saidis strenthis barmkynnis and pelis be biggit and completit within twa yeris under the pane.'[2]

There is in this enactment a marked contrast between a barmkin 'of stane and lyme' on the one hand, and a peel on the other, but the difference between them does not extend to the purpose, which in both cases was 'the saiffing of men thare gudis and gere upoun the bordoris.' The difference was a question of expense turning upon the material used in the construction. The barmkin was of stone and lime; the inference is irresistible that ordinarily the peel was not so. The purpose of peel and barmkin alike was to serve as a place of refuge in time of trouble not only for the men, women, and children, but also for their goods and cattle. These minor strengths were indispensable in that wild marauding time. Buchanan[3] appears to refer to the peels under the Latin term *propugnacula* when he mentions alongside of the castles (*arces*) of the higher classes these *propugnacula* of the lower orders, who, he says, have them as a provision against sudden incursions and are in the habit of protecting themselves and their possessions in them.

There is a sad penury of witnesses to the character of these peels, or as English writers usually called them, 'piles.' The endless allusions to their downfall give us no clear statement as to what they were. There are extant in our historical literature only two or three passages which in any way tend to explain away the difficulty of the Act of 1535—the question, namely, what the peels were made of, if they were not of stone and lime. John Lesley,

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[1] That is, the barmkin was to be square, each side to measure 60 feet, and the walls to be 3 feet thick and 18 feet high.

[2] The penalty is not stated; as if the statute had never been verbally completed.

[3] Buchanan, xiv. chap. 17, *sub anno* 1522, '*Utriusque provinciæ arces cum maximo potentiorum nec leviore plebis* (*quæ adversus subitas incursiones hæc habebant propugnacula in quibus se suaque servare soliti erant*) *damno.* It seems from this passage that Buchanan considered a *propugnaculum* as falling under the generic term *arx.*

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Bishop of Ross, took the trouble to frame a definition. Had he done so in six lines instead of three, perhaps the present inquiry would have been rendered unnecessary. We must be content with what Lesley has left us, remembering that he flourished in the palmy day of the peel, that he knew his nation's history and was no recluse, and that his words merit minute attention.

Bishop Lesley, whom I shall quote in a 16th century translation, devoted a chapter to the manners and customs of the Borderers. From that chapter the following passage is taken,[1] of which the original Latin is appended below.[2] It refers to the rank and file of the reiving borderers, not to the aristocracy among them.

'Thair castelis and palices are scheiphouses and luges[3] of quhais burning thay are nocht sair solist. Bot they far starker do make fournuiked of earth only quhilk nather can be burnte nor without a great force of men of weir doun can be castne or without sum travel with the sueit of their browis; thir ar thair pailes.'

Father Dalrymple's translation is rather free, and perhaps it is better to translate the two sentences afresh thus:—'Their buildings are mere huts or shielings, the burning of which little disturbs them. The more powerful[4] build for themselves 'pyramidal towers,' which they call *pailes*, made of earth only, which cannot be burnt, and can only be thrown down by a large force of soldiery and much labour.'

There is a serious difficulty here. How can a tower, four-cornered or otherwise, be made of earth only? Sir Walter Scott[5] cut the knot by heroically translating *ex sola terra* as 'made entirely of stone.' But this is not

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[1] Scottish Text Society's edition of Lesley's *Historie of Scotland*, translated by Father James Dalrymple in 1596, vol. i. p. 98.

[2] *Ædificia sunt casæ tuguria de quorum incendiis nihil sunt soliciti. Potentiores* [*sibi*] *pyramidales turres, quas* pailes *vocant, ex sola terra, quæ nec incendi nec nisi magna militum vi ac sudore dejici possunt, sibi construunt.*—Lesley, *De Origine etc. Scotorum*, edition of 1675, pp. 57-8. The '*sibi*' where it first occurs appears redundant and erroneous.

[3] I here omit 'quhilkis thai commonlie cal pailes,' these words being obviously misplaced.

[4] Meaning by this probably the head-men of clans.

[5] *Provincial Antiquities*, App. 2 to Essay on Border Antiquities.

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translation. *Ex sola terra* will not bear that sense.[1] Can it mean that the 'pailes' (which, by the way, Lesley in his vernacular writings[2] spelt 'peillis') were, as some contend, mere earth mounds, and that when English marauders 'clam the peel' at Jamie Telfer's of the fair Dodhead,[3] they were only scaling an artificial hillock? This solution is much worse than Sir Walter's, for surely no earthen mound could have been described as a pyramidal or four-cornered tower. Is there any solution? Or is it necessary to suppose that Lesley wrote nonsense? I think there are two alternative solutions.

Let us remember that the latest peel, with the details of the actual making of which we are acquainted, was at Stirling in 1336; that that peel was essentially a structure of clay; that the rampart of Perth made in the same year was described as a thick wall of clay; that clay-daubing was a mode of building dwelling-houses in the south of Scotland during the present century; and that often in 16th century allusions the mention of 'peels and stone-houses' plainly implies that a peel was something other than a stone-house. If it was a 'clay daubing,' there would be an end to the difficulty in understanding Lesley's averment that it was made of earth only and was incombustible. There are attractions in the hypothesis, but it must be owned that no historical Border peels on record can be demonstrated to have been of that construction. The fact is not conclusive, but in the absence of actual instances no great stress can be laid upon the clay-daubing hypothesis, standing as it does so perilously without proved contemporary example.

The other alternative solution of the combined puzzle of Lesley's definition and the Act of 1535 necessitates a survey and examination of the almost innumerable references to the peel, not only in the 16th century histories, but also in the contemporary state papers, which are, as evidence, far superior

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[1] I can adduce 16th century authority for this sufficiently clear fact that 'of earth only' does not mean 'of stone.' In August 1542 two 'bulwarkes of erthe' were ordered to be made at Holy Island, and in September reply was made that 'the two bulwark of erth' are to be gone on with, albeit report had been made 'that there is stone plentie and sufficient . . to make the bulwark . . . all of stone.'—*Hamilton Papers*, i. 154. 179.'

[2] Bannatyne Club's edition of Lesley, pp. 126, 148.

[3] Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*.

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to the histories. The testimony from these varied quarters is far from distinct. Notwithstanding, it is possible to collate from it an intelligible reading of the word 'peel.'

1. It is proper at the outset to look again at the Act of 1535, to note that the barmkin, 60 feet square and 18½ feet in height, 'for the saiffing of men, thare gudis and gere,' is of stone and lime. It is put in marked contrast with the peel, of which neither materials nor dimensions are given, but which also was for the protection of men and goods in time of trouble. This much is certain, therefore, that theoretically they served the self-same function.

2. In the case of the barmkin the proof of the function actually being served is abundantly clear. At the siege of Wark Castle in 1523 the outer ward was taken. It was, says Hall,[1] 'the uttermoste warde called the Barnkyns, where the beastes and barnes were.' It was the interval between the outer wall and the inner one, forming, as Buchanan (who was a volunteer in the expedition) describes it, a broad space,[2] in which in war-time the country people used to seek refuge, and to bring with them their cattle and crops.[3] The goods and gear, the cattle and corn, were put in the barmkin.[4] The tower, or stone house, within the barmkin was reserved for the borderers themselves. Often the barmkin was captured although the tower withstood attack. In one case in 1544 the Englishmen 'wonn the Barmkyn and gatt many Naggs and Nolt, and smoked very sore the Towre.'[5] In most cases where the barmkin is men-

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[1] Hall (reprint 1809), 666.

[2] *Ram* [*i.e.* the tower of the castle] *duplex murus ambit, exterior latum amplexus spatium in quod belli tempore rustici solebant confugere ac pecora fructusque agrorum conferre.* Buchanan's Hist. xiv. 22.

[3] So frequent is the mention of the burning of corn in these barmkins, or barnkins, that the latter spelling (barnkin) might reasonably be explained as due to a mistaken popular etymology. Note Hall's reference to 'beastes and barnes,' fully borne out by Buchanan's '*horrea atque stramenta quæ in eis erant.*' xiv. 22. Compare Bruce Armstrong's *Liddesdale*, appx. p. lxi. *Hamilton Papers*, i. lxix.

[4] The same arrangement as at Wark is found at Norham in 1542. There were in the outer ward towers, that 'the contre repayring thyder wyth their goodes maie lye for their saffgarde.' *Hamilton Papers*, i. 288.

[5] Haynes' *State Papers*, p. 46. A similar case, p. 45. Another in Bruce Armstrong's *Liddesdale*, appx., p. lxii.

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tioned it is not as an independent erection (although obviously it might be so from the terms[1] of the Act of 1535), but as the outwork of a tower or stone house. Thus we hear[2] of 'towers of stone with all their barnekyns or bulwarkes,' 'Towres and Barmekyn,'[3] or 'Barmkeyn at the Towre.'[4] We have extant certain correspondence[5] about 'scowrying of the dich and making of a barmekyn' about the castle of Bewcastle in 1541, and we know from the correspondence that this barmkin, which was both long and high, was 'foure square.'

Summing up these facts we find that usually the barmkin was an outer wall or moated rampart round a house or tower, enclosing a space in which the cattle and corn of the borderers were stored. The term barmkin was sometimes applied to the whole.[6]

3. In the case of peel[7] there are many contrasts which enforce the belief that a true peel in the middle of the 16th century was certainly not a stone house or stone tower. There are evidences[8] that a peel was combustible from the inside. This would be inevitable if, as is to be supposed, there was a

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[1] The phrase 'necessary fortresses barmekyns and houses' implies the same. State Papers Henry VIII, v. 193.

[2] Holinshed (reprint 1808), iii. 680. Hall, 645.

[3] Haynes' *State Papers*, 54.

[4] Haynes' *State Papers*, 45.

[5] *Hamilton Papers*, i. 124.

[6] The 'hous of Aiton with the barmekyne,' *Hamilton Papers*, i. xcix, is elsewhere named 'Aton barmkyn.' *Hamilton Papers*, i. xci.

[7] 'Castels piles townes and villages,' Holinshed, iv. 238. 'Castell piles stone-houses townes and villages,' Holinshed, iv. 339. 'Castell pile or house,' Holinshed, iv. 340. 'Sondrye stone-houses and lytell piles,' State Papers Henry VIII., v. 521. 'Sondry piles and stone-houses,' Ditto, v. 523. 'Sondry piles and strong towers,' Ditto, v. 527. 'Keist doun sindrie peillis,' Bannatyne Club, Lesley's Hist., p. 126. 'Douncasting of peillis,' Ditto, 148. 'Kest doun sindrie stane houses and strenthis,' Ditto, 189. 'All the Peills Houses corn,' Haynes' *State Papers*, 46. 'Castells Toures and Piles' [This is the heading of an official and obviously careful and exact paper], Ditto, 54. 'Strong piles,' 'Every pile fortresse and village,' Hall, 807, 861. 'Where piles he pulled down apace,' Battle of Flodden, verse 144. 'Furth of the said place of the Peill of Levingstoun,' Reg. Priv. Council Scot., v. 193. 'Cum mansione *lie* peillhouse,' Retours Selkirk (1695), No. 107. 'Castell towne pile ne village,' Fabyan (reprint, 1811), 706.

[8] 'Sett fyer in a peyll.' *Hamilton Papers*, i. lxviii.

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series of office-houses within it. It is certain that it furnished accommodation for cattle and crops. In 1544 when[1] Englishmen 'wonn a pyle' they 'brought away 200 nolt.' In 1586 we hear[2] of 'ane peill house with byre hall and berne.' In 1579 a complaint[3] was made 'for pulling doun of a peill' when the offenders 'sta and away tuke xl ky and oxin, ane meir and ane foill.' In 1567 a summons was issued[4] to the 'haldaris keparis and detenaris of the hous and peill of Westhousis to rander and deliver the samyn with the volt and barmkin thairof'—a demand suspiciously redundant in its terminology, containing the only example I have ever seen of the mention together of peel and barmkin. If the triplet 'haldaris keparis and detenaris' was necessary for the due description of the occupants, there need be no difficulty in believing that the doublet 'peill' and 'barmkin' was necessary to describe the fortification which they held.

I believe the difference between holders, keepers, and retainers was, in the conception of the scribe, about as great as that between peel and barmkin. In fact the two terms are sometimes employed for the same thing. Thus in 1542 one place near Berwick[5] is variously referred to as a 'pyle,' as the 'pile of Ayton,' as a 'hous and barmekyne,' and the 'hous of Aiton with the barmekine,' and as 'Aton barmkyn.'

Like the barmkin, a peel might have within it a tower of stone,[6] but so far

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[1] Haynes' *State Papers*, p. 47.

[2] Reg. Priv. Council, Scotland, iv. 106.

[3] Ditto, iii. 236. The next editor of Scott's Border Minstrelsy may see in this an illustration for the ballad of Jamie Telfer, see *supra*, p. 143.

[4] Reg. Privy Council, Scotland, i. 593.

[5] *Hamilton Papers*, lxix. xcix. xci.

[6] This was the case with 'the pele caulid Caw Mylles' in 1532. (State Papers, Henry VIII. iv., 630, 635, 639.) This might possibly be an early example of the transfer of the name of peel to the stone tower itself. Leland in 1539 wrote of a 'prety pyle' built from 'the stones of the Pict Wall' (Bruce's Handbook to Roman Wall, 1885, p. 235). Even in the 15th century a metrical romancer speaks of a 'pylle of ston,' obviously meaning a castle (Torrent of Portingal, l. 575.) Earlier still Chaucer also in House of Fame, iii. 220, had used 'pell' in the same sense. In 1483 the *Catholicon Anglicum*, instead of expressly defining 'a peille,' makes a cross reference for its meaning to 'a castelle.'

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as records go this does not seem to have been usual. The peel was, like the barmkin, a place of defence and shelter. The peel of Ayton, already alluded to, was defended by eighty men, and apparently had within it horses, cattle, sheep, and other goods. In 1542 two Englishmen 'sett fyer in a peyll' on Corrie Water in Annandale, and took away[1] with them 30 oxen and cows, 8 horses, 60 sheep, 'with mych other insight of howsholde.'

Generalisations and definitions are necessary although dangerous, and the present case constrains some attempt in that direction. The functions of peel and barmkin[2] are so much alike, and the references to them so similar, that an inference from the Act of 1535 appears to offer the only real solution of the problem. Whilst a barmkin was a close formed by a wall of stone and lime, a peel seems to have been a close, probably rectangular, formed by a stockade or wooden wall, sometimes earthen faced. The barmkin was usually the adjunct of a tower or strong house within; the peel was perhaps oftenest a self-dependent structure, at once house and outer wall. This solution can be substantiated by historical examples, which are at the same time quite reconcilable with Lesley's peculiar description of the 'pailes.' Thus there is mentioned in the border correspondence[3] of Henry VIII. 'a strong pele of Ill Will Armistranges builded aftur siche maner that it couth not be brynt ne distroyed unto it was cut downe with axes.' Why it could not be burnt may be guessed from a description[5] given in 1541 of the houses of the 'heddesmen' of Tyndale,[4] which were said to be 'very stronge houses, whereof for the most part the utter sydes or walls be made of greatt sware[6] oke trees, strongly bounde and joyned togither with greatt tenours[7] of the same so thycke mortressed[8] that yt wilbe very hard without great force and lasure to breake

[1] *Hamilton Papers*, i. lxviii.; compare Haynes' *State Papers*, 47.

[2] Even the burning is said to occur in both cases. They 'brent...Ayton barmkyn.' (*Hamilton Papers*, i. xci.)

[3] *State Papers, Henry VIII.* iv. 492; see also Bruce Armstrong's *Liddesdale*, i. 77.

[4] These 'heddesmen,' or heads of clans, are no doubt the '*potentiores*' of Lesley's passage, p. 142, *supra*.

[5] Quoted from the MS. by Mr. Bruce Armstrong in his *Liddesdale*, i. 76.

[6] Square.

[7] Tenons.

[8] Mortised.

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or caste downe any of the said houses, the tymbers as well of the said walles as roofes be so great and covered moste part with turves and earth that they wyll not easyly burne or be set on fyre.'

This last passage, which we owe to the diligence of Mr. Bruce Armstrong, historian of Liddesdale,[1] may be compared with the letter[2] by the Earl of Hertford to Henry VIII. in April, 1544, relative to the fortification of Inchkeith. It had been believed by the Scots that the English ships 'hade tymbar in them redi framed to mak a boulwark upon Inchkith and would covar the waulls ther of with turves,' and Hertford wrote to the King for instructions. This system of turfing wooden ramparts appears to be the explanation of Lesley's puzzle, and to throw a flood of light on the whole question. Houses thus strengthened cannot have been by any means uncommon if one may judge from a casual reference to 'certayne turved houses' in a border despatch[3] dated 23rd November, 1542, in which the immediately preceding sentence mentions a 'strengthe of wood.'

The adjection of earth to a stockaded fort or house is a device still resorted to in warfare. Indeed, the term 'block-house' probably applied to such structures appears in an English statute of 1512 in a very suggestive conjunction.[4] 'Nother pile blokhouse ne bulwork is made.' It is not a little surprising to find that a modern blockhouse comes so near the description of the Tyndale turved houses in the 16th century border papers. It is[5] a covered building usually rectangular[6] in shape, the walls being formed of stockade work of squared logs and the roof of beams and planks 'with a covering of earth.' Outside the building a ditch is excavated and the earth is

[1] May the issue of his second volume be hastened!

[2] *Hamilton Papers*, ii. 330. Compare *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 45, where an account of the fort at Broughty in 1547 says the English 'biggit certane timber graith thair, and maid thair ane strength.' Compare the name, Strength of Liddell.

[3] *Hamilton Papers*, i. lxxx.

[4] *New Eng. Dict.*, *sub* blockhouse.

[5] Phillips' *Field and Permanent Fortification*, 1874, p. 67.

[6] This does not seem to have been the shape of the old blockhouses if we may judge from Pitscottie's description of the wooden palace made in Athole for James V., which had 'in everie quarter ane round lyk ane blokhous.'—Pitscottie (1814), p. 344.

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'thrown up against the walls.' The outward view of such a structure[1] would harmonise generally with Lesley's account and would assuredly render most intelligible his statement that a peel was made of earth only. It would not be seriously misdescribed as a pyramidical tower,[2] because the slope of earth would necessitate a marked 'batter' of the outer faces. It would be incombustible except from the inside—if even combustible then. It is, however, to be supposed that only the smaller structures of this kind would admit of being roofed over in one piece as those in Tynedale apparently were. Into speculation on such details it is useless to enter, for there are no facts to work on. Roofed or not, a high rectangular stockaded rampart, composed of beams, strongly mortised into each other and covered as far as possible with earth would not only answer the ends required, but would fulfil the conditions of the act of 1535 as being a less costly structure than a heavy barmkin of stone. It brings the peel of the sixteenth century into line with a known type of structure then prevalent, and proved to have been in use for the same purpose two centuries before. It also realises with sufficient closeness the description given of a 'peel' by the sole contemporary historian who has somewhat vaguely told us what it was. In short, it suits the facts of history.

V. General Remarks.

One point only remains to be noticed, viz., the transition of the conception of 'peel,' as denoting a strength of wood to its now universal acceptance, as *simpliciter* denoting a border tower of stone, irrespective of any correlative or antecedent sense. This is capable in some cases of the simplest explanation by well known laws of language. Things die, but words live. The rude and relatively temporary peel was supplanted by a stone tower set on its site or within it, and the 'peel-tower' or 'peel-house' in course of time[3] by insensible

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[1] Since this sentence was written I have found a case in 1544 in which what is in one document referred to as 'a pyle or a fortress' is in another called 'a blockhouse.'—*Hamilton Papers*, ii. 714, 366.

[2] The sections given by Major Philips in his book where cited *supra* show this very well.

[3] See, for example, 'peill-house' in Pitscottie (1814), p. 306.

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gradations became so thoroughly identified with the 'peel' that it is now difficult to conceive that 'peel' ever meant anything except what it means now—a small tower.[1] Moreover the term is now applied to many towers to which the name was never given in the 16th century. It is in scores upon scores of cases a mere modern misnomer,[2] of *savant* not traditional origin.

One further remark shall close my attempt to trace an eventful development —the progress of 'peel' starting from a palisade and ending in a stone tower. The original palisade or stockade, first called 'peel' when Edward I. was warring against Scottish independence, was in itself no new thing in this country. It may have had distinctive features marking it off from any previous work of the kind, but generically a moated palisade is a structure belonging to primeval times.[3] In Scotland most of the prehistoric forts and camps were probably provided with that defence.[4] The system was widely prevalent in the 13th century, as we know from two incidents in the annals of Inverness. King William the Lion granted to the burgesses there a charter[5] which narrates that he agreed to make a fosse about the burgh, and that they agreed to erect a good palisade (*bono palitio*) and to maintain it. Many years later, in 1228, a marauder having burnt certain wooden forts (*quasdam munitiones ligneas*) in Moray, burnt also a great part of Inverness,[6] showing that the fosse

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[1] I confess I cannot say when the word came absolutely to mean a stone tower. Sporadic English examples of 'pile' with that sense come first. Peel had certainly not acquired its completely modern sense before the 17th century. Examples need careful examination. I know cottages near the Solway known as 'The Clay Daubings,' which have been stone buildings so far back as most people's memory goes, although persons still alive remember the original houses of clay.

[2] The man who tries to gainsay this will perhaps be good enough to show us how many existing so-called peels were known by that name in the 16th century. He will find them few and far between. In Dumfriesshire (not forgetting Sanquhar) I doubt he will find not one example.

[3] As to its military service, see Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionary of Architecture*, voce *palissade*.

[4] Boadicea in her address to her troops in A.D. 61 reminded them that they had stockades and walls and ditches. See Xiphilin in *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, I. lvii.

[5] *Scots Acts* (Thomson), i. 88.

[6] Bower, ii. 57-8.

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and palisade had ceased to be sufficient for their purpose, or had been ill guarded.

The most singular thing about the word is the tenacity with which it clung to its primitive meaning as a fort or fortification of wood work. It was a palisade or stockade in the time of Edward I. It was still a stockade in the time of Henry VIII. It did not lose that sense—the old wood was not petrified—until peace and the growth of law and order had ended the long chapter of Border broils and depredations, and the purpose of the thing it signified had become a mere matter of historical curiosity.

VI.—Etymology.

Biographers usually begin with the ancestry of their hero, but in this biography of 'peel' the etymological pedigree comes last.

It has been made tolerably plain that from the stone peel as it now stands, we must go back to earlier peels of wood and earth or clay, and from them still further back to peels of wood. Even in the 13th century a wooden peel might be made after the fashion of a tower.

> The Romancer it says Richard did mak a pele
> On castelle wise, all wais wrouht of tre fulle well.[1]

'Pel' in the sense of palisade was in literary use as a military term. Exeter, an Old-English poet tells us,[2] was in the days of King Arthur made

> Defensable vyth wyth bretaxes and pel.

These words, which may be compared with an early Anglo-French romancer's references to the '*bresteches*' and '*paliz*' used in fortifying Scarborough,[3] would have been no less applicable, as we have seen, at Linlithgow, Perth,

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[1] Hearne's *Robert of Brunne*, p. 157.

[2] *Robert of Brunne* (R. S.), line 15912.

[3] *Dunc funt les granz fosses lever*
Pur ens garir e rescetter
Levent bresteches od kernels
Ke cuntrevalant bons chastels
De herituns et de paliz.

—*Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey* (R.S.), ii. 144. The date of the poem cited is about 1240.

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No. VII.

THE INSCRIPTION IN THE CHAPTER-HOUSE OF GLASGOW CATHEDRAL:

BY

THE MOST REVEREND ARCHBISHOP EYRE, LL.D., D.D.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society, held on 11th April, 1891.*]

BEFORE bringing under your notice an old inscription in the Cathedral Chapter-House, I would wish to point out two mistakes commonly, if not universally made, and to hope that persons writing about the Cathedral or taking their friends through it, and also that the custodians of the venerable fabric, would use the correct terms. One mistake is the calling the building below the choir by the term crypt. It is not a crypt, nor was it ever in old times called by any other name than "the low church," *bassa ecclesia* (see *Diocesan Registers of Glasgow*, Vol. II. pp. 470, 500, 503, etc.); or "the lower church," *ecclesia inferior* (see *Registrum Epus Glasg.*, No. 455, p. 463; and No. 486, p. 519). It is a church, and was always so styled. The other mistake is the calling the higher of the two structures at the N.E. angle of the building by the name of chapter-house, and the lower one by the name of the crypt under the chapter-house.[1]

The lower building was undoubtedly the chapter-house, and the one above it was the vestry, and is called *Vestiarium* (see *Diocesan Registers*, Vol. II. pp. 129, 130, 324, 394, 430). The ambries in the higher building shew that it was the vestry, or sacristy, where the sacred vessels and vestments were kept, and where the clergy put on their vestments; and the stone seat of the Dean,

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1 Mr. Collie, though an architect, has fallen into both these mistakes, thinking that the upper building was the chapter-house, and calling the lower one a crypt. The little guide-book, sold in the Cathedral to visitors, falls into the same mistakes, pp. 70 and 71, Jas. Pagan's *History of the Cathedral and See.*

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humble-minded antiquary who finds his work hard enough within the region of fact, and tries to explain some real difficulty or solve some small problem, is considered to be little more than a dilettante and a trifler, though it may be on his facts alone that the philosopher is able to erect his speculation.

The study of any literature, ancient literature necessarily, but a modern literature just as much, involves archæology of more kinds than one. The student of a literature, certainly the expounder and commentator and critic and historian of a literature, must have archæological knowledge; he must be potentially an archæologist, whatever he may claim actually to be. He is one apart altogether from his having (or not) such entirely technical and special skill as is required, say, for the deciphering of manuscripts and editing the text of an author. For if he is to understand an author, he must appreciate his allusions, and that involves antiquarian knowledge, knowledge of the society in the midst of which the author flourished. Take, for example, the learning required for the interpretation and appreciation of the plays of Shakespeare. Some of it is linguistic, an acquaintance with an earlier stage of English; much is of the habits and traditions and current phrases and by-words of the time, and that is purely antiquarian. Consider the essays and books that have been written to illustrate Shakespeare's legal knowledge, his use of the Bible, his mad people, his natural history, his witchcraft and demonology, and other details, every one being essentially an archæological study. The very stories which have been dramatised have had a previous existence, the tracing of which is a branch of antiquarian literary investigation by itself. Shakespeare is not the only English author by any means who needs explanations. Spenser is fuller of recondite allusions, and requires a more elaborate running commentary. Chaucer, as he is more remote from the present time, affords even a richer field for antiquarian research. How seldom, however, is this side of our older authors touched upon. The ordinary critic is full of praise or of condemnation of the art and skill of the poet, of his tragedy and comedy, of his moral or other lessons; he may rise to the interpretation of an obscure passage; he may attain to the power of suggesting a various reading, but he seldom alludes to the author's knowledge of his time or of the learning which he has worked into his verses. Chaucer, in those very dramatic tales of his, had certainly no more thought of

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archæology than had Burns when he wrote the "Holy Fair" or the "Jolly Beggars." Still, to understand not Chaucer alone, but even these latter, it is necessary not merely to know the language, but to put ourselves into contact with a condition of society that has passed away, and we must therefore have the "knowledge of former things" to help us. Already in Burns's own time customs had grown so obsolete, that when he wrote "Hallowe'en," one of the best folk-lore poems in existence, even he found it necessary to play the part of antiquary as well as of poet, and to provide it with introduction and explanatory notes. Indeed, as one of the members of our Society has shown in an interesting series of articles, Burns's ordinary poetry is full of allusions to the state of the country and of the people a century and a half ago, of marked interest to the Scottish antiquary.

It is not necessary, however, to go back to the classics, or to Dante, or Petrarch, or Rabelais, and such like authors who are unintelligible without a commentary, or to the older English authors, or to the satirists and political writers, for proof that much literary interpretation must be fundamentally antiquarian. We do not need to go outside the most recent English literature for an illustration of the same fact. For many readers do not the allusions to past history and people, thoughts and customs, form one at least of the obstacles to the understanding, and therefore to the valuing of the poetry of Browning? Admitting that by his art he has made his men and women live and influence those of to-day, this does not alter the circumstance that to understand his poems, and to get the full flavour of them, involve far more knowledge, in many cases of a very out of the way kind, than has been hitherto found necessary for understanding contemporary poetry by most readers. "Sordello" was—possibly it still is—deemed unreadable; it contains condensed half-expressed allusions to little known events in Italian history. Fifty years ago, in 1840, when the poem was published by Moxon, probably nobody but Browning himself had such a minute knowledge of the time, and no one therefore was qualified to express an opinion, much less a judgment, on his work. Contemporary critics, measuring it by the only standard they had, that of their own ignorance, pronounced it unintelligible. What, too, is "The Ring and the Book" but an old story dramatised for a different age; but, like others of his works, making demands on extensive knowledge

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for thorough appreciation of all its allusions? Browning's erudition, historical and antiquarian, is a rock of offence to the "general reader."

In spite of all our struggles there is no escape from the influence of things old. Nay, as time goes on they dominate us more and more. Nothing that bears the impress of human thought and hands but has its archæology. A fully equipped antiquary would have pretty well to know everything. What can come amiss to him for investigation? he must be in touch with and sympathize with whatever has been said, made, done by man in the past, even although he may have lost the clue to its meaning; much archæological work, indeed, is devoted solely to the recovery of these clues. Archæology is essentially a *human* study; it is the recognition by living men of all that remains of the thoughts and works of once living men like themselves, who have passed away, as those who study their relics will in their turn have to do. It is the practical expression of the instinct to which the American rhapsodist has given voice—

> "Think of the past;
> I warn you that, in a little while, others will find their past in you
> and your times."

Of the age and extent and interest of archæology there can be no real question. One may elect to ignore the fact, but still we are all under the influence of the people and the events of byegone times. Society now is the consequence of them; the history of our own and other countries tells us how it has all come about, and there has always been fortunately a succession of persons attracted by the study of old things and of previous ages, whose works remain to us, and are still prized, by all men of liberal culture, as telling us what they knew about those times and what they thought about them.

This recognition, as has been already said, is characteristic of all periods and races and literatures. It is singularly impressive and suggestive to find a writer whom we should regard distinctly as old, and himself a subject of antiquarian interest, referring, in much the same terms as we ourselves should use, to objects or events which seem to us to be very ancient. The pyramids were hardly nearer to the time of Herodotus than they are to our own; Stonehenge was a wonder and a puzzle to the antiquaries of centuries ago as it is to

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us. The execution of King Charles I. may be looked upon as a comparatively recent event in British history. Thomas Hearne, however, the antiquary, gives an extract from the "Northampton Mercury" to the effect that on December 24th, 1730, one Margaret Coe, died in the 104th year of her age. She was 21 years of age when the king was beheaded, and saw the executioner hold up the head. One hundred and sixty years ago, therefore, Hearne evidently looked upon the execution as so old a story that it was a wonder to come across an eye-witness of it; very much as a newspaper now might record the death of one who took part in Trafalgar or Waterloo, or was present at the French Revolution and the execution of Louis XVI.

These writers, however, like all other human and temporal things, acquire for themselves another kind of interest. They too become antique; they themselves turn into objects of archæological investigation. The very newest and most recent book on antiquities grows old like its author, and sinks into oblivion. After the lapse of time, perhaps of years or even of centuries, fresh interest is awakened in it; it is revived to illustrate a new doctrine, to teach a new lesson, to form the text of a new book.

In strict keeping with development in time, the treatment of archæological subjects varies from generation to generation. The revered authorities of one period, against whose opinion hardly a single voice would be raised while they were still engaged in their work, pass away, and what they did is pushed aside in the rush of younger students eager to take their place. New views are introduced, old methods are found to be inadequate, in the course of fresh investigation fresh facts are forthcoming, and the fullest knowledge of a former time is found to be imperfect, not up to the present date, no longer sufficient for the new era. It is the best sign of archæology that it is endowed with this vitality, that new results are ever appearing, and that in consequence it changes and grows and develops. That every new fact is of supreme value cannot be the case, but, in so far as it is genuine and true, it will, sooner or later, be appreciated and find its place and its use in the general system.

Just, then, as there are histories of historical methods and results in which the successive methods of dealing with historical facts and theories are displayed and criticized, one would like to see a history of archæological

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investigation, from which one could learn how antiquities were estimated at different times, how the problems that are still under consideration were regarded during different epochs, and by those interested in them in successive generations; what entirely new lines of research have been opened up, at what time, and owing to what influences; how some have been cultivated ardently to the exclusion of others, and how these have ultimately attained their due importance in the archæological circle.

It would run far beyond the limits of an address like the present to indicate, however briefly, the scope of such a study. That there is no history of the kind, so far as I am aware, indicates perhaps that the subject is too vast to be undertaken by any one person. Reference, however, may be made to one or two illustrations of what might be included in a comprehensive history.

It is correct to say, I think, that for centuries by far the largest and most carefully cultivated field of antiquarian investigation has been that of Greek and Roman civilization. The study of the remains of these peoples, their language, literature, philosophy, religion, laws, politics, customs, immoralities, war, sciences, technology, and art absorbed the attention of a vast majority of students and scholars. Classical learning was the mark of culture, to the exclusion of all native literature, history, politics, science, art. Libraries were made up of books connected with the so-called learned languages. Even within one's own recollection manuals of Greek and Roman antiquities were familiar works. The school-boy was taught about cohorts and triumphs and the Peloponnesian war, and the whole details of the Greek theatre and the games of the Roman Circus, but not about the antiquities of his own country (not even the Roman occupation of it), its history and politics and literature, its armies and drama. There was no instruction (I question if there is any now) in English, Scotch, or Irish antiquities. To employ present-day phraseology, "That was not good enough." No man, however well skilled in the history and antiquities of his own country, who knew its philosophy or its science, who was thoroughly familiar with its natural history, would have got credit for learning and none for culture, if he had not had a so-called classical education; as if a Greek would have neglected his own country for the sake of any other—would have studied the language and literature

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of another country to the deliberate exclusion of his own. Whereas the high-water mark of our culture has been familiarity with the literature and language of the nation which knew no nation, wished to know no nation but themselves, the nation which, if judged by our standard of seeking our highest interest out of ourselves, must have been the narrowest and least cultured of antiquity!

It is a component in the history of development well worth considering how the mediæval poverty of culture, which justifiably welcomed with such enthusiasm the discovery or revival or rehabilitation of the Greek and Latin languages and antiquities, hampers us even now and monopolizes education. At this very moment, when the antiquities of the nations from whom the Greeks learned are investigating, when there is the whole of modern philosophy and literature and science, vast subjects both of investigation and speculation, and of practical utility as well, even now legislation is practically pronouncing that no man shall be called cultured who has not been taught Latin or Greek. The whole of modern science is to count for nothing in training the human mind compared with what can be little more than a rudimentary knowledge of a dead language like Latin! But it cannot always be so. This traditional supremacy in Europe of Greek and Latin learning as a *universal* criterion of culture will give place to a rational use of such learning for those minds or those professions to which it is specially adapted, but it will cease to be affirmed that a man's scientific attainments are to be stigmatised as uncultured because a knowledge of Greek or of any other language, Sanskrit or Arabic for instance, is not required by him.

During the time, however, when so-called classical learning was at its plenitude and absorbed most attention, there were men who did devote themselves to other topics than the classics, who found more congenial occupation in the study of the antiquities and languages and literature and legends of other nations, or displayed a culture parallel to that of the Greeks by taking a rational and genuine interest in the annals and monuments of their own country.

These were the predecessors of the modern archæologists; men like Camden and Leland, who travelled to see what actually remained of the

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works of former times, and recorded what they themselves observed, and not what was written about them in other books. It was, of course, under depressing disadvantages that such men pursued their labours. Not to speak of the hardship and danger of travelling in their days, they were without the stimulus of many labourers in the same field; their own work appealed to the most meagre of publics; they had, through the limitation of their own lives, abilities and opportunities, to leave subjects uninvestigated or to substitute conjecture for fact to the detriment of the accuracy of their results; they had to contend with the neglect of the cultivators of these remains by the scholars and philosophers, Greek and Latin, and with the ignorance of the great mass of their countrymen, in fact, they had to display a taste for national antiquities in the midst of a chilling national indifference. A worthy attempt to direct attention to this subject was made at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The title of the book containing it is itself a pathetic appeal, which displays the author's sentiments as much as his treatment of the theme. I refer to the charming little volume by Richard Verstegan, entitled: "*A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities. Concerning the most noble and renoumed English Nation*," printed at Amsterdam in 1605, and sold at London. It is a dissertation on the Saxon people in England, their religion, language and customs, and origin; an important point consisting in distinguishing them most strongly from the British, that is the Welsh and Cornish and from the Scots and Irish, or broadly, from the Celtic populations. It is full of interesting ethnological and linguistic discussions, some of which remain open to this day, while others may after long examination be considered as closed. To the student of the history and development of archæology it is a landmark, or rather a *time* mark, a monument indicating the progress of research. If not so much for its contents, though it still is of value for certain contemporary facts, or for its deductions, based as they are upon limited knowledge and upon unsifted traditions and beliefs, the book is still of historical interest for the problems in ethnology that it propounds, for the calm and reasonable treatment of these problems, and for the attempt of the author, who after all was only half an Englishman, to rouse an interest among his countrymen in their own origin and descent. In the reign of

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King James I. English scholars and students had seemingly forgotten that their own people must have begun at some time and had come from somewhere; but the history of their own country had been moved farther away from their daily life than the history of the Greeks and Romans. I have no evidence that the laudable effort of Verstegan met with any success or that it was soon followed up by similar researches of others. The time for the study of the antiquities of the Saxon people and their race-affinities and language in a more comprehensive spirit had not yet arrived. One would require to enter into the progress of ethnographic and linguistic investigation for two hundred and fifty years to understand the present method of dealing with the questions which Verstegan propounded.

Somewhat later in the seventeenth century appeared two books which would occupy a place in archæological history, as anticipating modern research in different sections of anthropology and in folk-lore. They are both written in the sesquipedalian jargon of the time, against which Verstegan had protested a generation earlier, but all the more on that account they may interest the student of the history of archæology. One of these, I need do no more than name it, is the "*Pseudodoxia Epidemica, or enquiries into Vulgar and Common Errors*," by Sir Thomas Browne, in which he criticizes with much acumen the almost incredible number of mistakes and misconceptions, especially in natural history, cosmography, physics, medicine and surgery, which were current among educated and uneducated alike in his time. Sir Thomas Browne's book is the display of the ignorance of the world and of the works of creation, which was the outcome of a culture which had restricted itself overmuch to a knowledge of Greek and Latin, and resolutely ignored the possibility of any other kind of learning and acquirement. Even Sir Thomas Browne was handicapped in his search after the truth of things, by having most of his readers educated to believe that it was heresy to attack these ancients in the very matters in which he was demonstrating their errors.

The other work, which is a genuine early piece of anthropology, is the "*Anthropometamorphosis, or The Artificiall Changling*," by John Bulwer, printed at London in 1650 and in 1663. In this very curious and interesting treatise there is given an account of the ways in which human

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beings have decorated and deformed their bodies, sometimes out of ideas of beauty, sometimes out of superstitious and religious beliefs. It too is couched partially in the macaronic Latin, which did duty for English with a certain class of writers, but the matter atones for its euphuism and might still be made use of. The author gathered from travellers and historians all the facts he could about the decoration and alteration of every part of the body from the top of the head down to the toes, and in many cases gives illustrations of the text which do not fail to impress his reader, whether they represent fact or fancy. The descriptions are diversified with anecdotes, moral reflections, and cynical remarks, which make the book a readable one. The same topic has been pursued in a scientific manner of late years, and occupies a place in treatises on the races of man; but Bulwer's book, though it broke new ground, appealed in vain to the English of the seventeenth century for intelligent appreciation. It had no successor, it could have none, till anthropology became a recognised branch of scientific natural history, partly by the advance in knowledge of natural history in general, by the completer recognition of man's homologies with other animals, partly by the enormously increased acquaintance with the customs and languages and rites of foreign and especially of so-called savage or uncivilized races, during the present century through travel and colonization. A work somewhat resembling it, narrower as being devoted to one sex only, more comprehensive as including not only women's decoration, distortion, and deformation, but their customs on different occasions of life, is the German monograph, "*Das Weib*," by Dr. Ploss, of which a new edition by Max Bartels has just been completed.

One more illustration of the importance, or at least of the interest of the history of archæology, may be taken from a quite different branch of enquiry.

It may be known to certain of my present audience that as early as the middle of the sixteenth century there had come or were coming to Western Europe, along with more familiar works, a number of Greek manuscripts, treating of what was called in them the Sacred Art, or the great art, which at a later time was better known as the art of trans-

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mutation, or, to borrow the name which the Arabs contributed, Alchemy. A small part of the contents of the manuscripts was translated into Latin by an Italian, Dominico Pizimenti, and was published in 1572-3 Much discussion as to the genuineness and value of these MSS. arose in the seventeenth century between Borrichius, Conringius, Reinesius, and other scholars, naturalists and physicians, but it was largely made up of assertion, counter-assertion, and recrimination. Practically no appeal was made to the MSS. themselves, although Leo Allatius, the librarian of the Vatican Library, about 1661, meditated an edition of them, and others entertained a similar intention. It was reserved for two chemists of the latter half of the nineteenth century to give a full digest of all that was previously known about them, and a critical examination of their history, and to bring out a worthy and scholar-like edition of them.

In the prosecution of my own inquiries into these topics I have been impressed over and over again by the fact that certain researches are possible only at certain epochs. A certain amount of previous preparation is involved, the soil has to be tilled, so to speak; then, when that is ready, the crop seems somehow to come naturally and easily of itself, while those who threw in the seed from time to time, saw afar off the possibility of it ripening, and rejoiced in the prospect, are not allowed to enter into the enjoyment of the harvest. No doubt, Pizimenti and Borrichius and Leo Allatius, perhaps at an earlier time the Arabians, men who, like Dschabir Ben Hayyan in 760, eleven hundred years ago, learned his chemistry from those whom even he calls "the ancients," would have wondered at the production of such a work as that of Berthelot's on the Greek alchemists, finished in 1888.

Such a publication could hardly have been undertaken before the present year of grace. There had to be got rid of at least three hundred years of prejudice and active hostility to the whole subject. This hostility has died away only within living memory, because the transmutation of metals, the subject of it, has been seen to be futile in the present state of our knowledge. It is harmless, and every one is indifferent to it as a practical possibility. No one therefore who cares now to investigate it as a past chapter in the history of chemistry is open to the

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charge either of believing in or attempting to realize it. But to render this change possible it has taken centuries of the study of the chemistry which grew out of it. But more than that, the palæographic skill to interpret the manuscripts, the modern processes of photography, which make *facsimiles* possible, the scientific knowledge—not in chemistry alone but in other departments—necessary to grasp and include and interpret the scientific ignorance of the writers and explain their imperfectly understood aims, the knowledge of previous and of collateral antiquity, of the manners and customs and knowledge of the Egyptians, of the religious, philosophic, occult systems of the ancient nations, had all of them to be brought by unceasing previous investigation to their present condition, before there were data which could be employed to throw even what light we have upon the problems—very mysterious looking, probably because in their own confusion the writers did not know how to state them—which are presented to us in these curious Greek manuscripts.

I have perhaps enlarged unduly upon this topic, but it happens to have been prominently in my thoughts in connection with a paper on Pizimenti's translation above mentioned which I communicated to the Philosophical Society only last night. But although it is a very narrow basis to start from, I feel that the principle which it illustrates is of general application. It is simply this, that in archæology, as in every really living subject of research, there is no pause. The archæologist, like every other inquirer, must be prepared to let his theories go, his authorities be set aside, his whole system remodelled, whenever fresh discovery and the unyielding necessity of facts demand the sacrifice. The history of archæological inquiry, or archæology itself regarded as a subject of antiquarian study, would exhibit this principle in the widest possible way, for there we should see how, by the increase and sifting and confirming of knowledge, not in one branch only, but over the whole field of intellectual activity, the questions of one generation put on a different look to the generations which follow, drop exhausted out of view altogether, or are treated in a different way and in a different connection; how the authorities of one age upon any antiquarian topic are superseded—by no demerit necessarily of their own—but simply by the progress of time, the oncoming of others and their own removal from their work; how entirely new problems present themselves for consideration.

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Whether an individual or a society is able to accomplish much or little for archæology in the large sense of the term, it is well, at all events, that one should not lose sight of such a general aspect of the subject, displayed when it itself can possibly be viewed from the antiquarian side. After all, however, the practical question before us is, what can be done for archæology by our own society? Archæological pursuit is so purely a matter of personal taste and nonprofessional interest, that anyone inclined to follow it at all will take up only the branch of it which really allures him, and for the prosecution of which the material is within limits accessible. Not indeed that the latter has much to do with the choice, for it happens that just the most out of the way and unpromising field is what to some one offers the greatest pleasure to cultivate. Fortunately there is no taste that cannot be gratified to the full: there is no lack of variety in the old subjects, and there are new ones waiting for workers.

Is there, for instance, any one in the society who is prepared to give an account of the antiquities of a perfectly modern invention—postage stamps? I say the antiquities, for the early stamps are as extinct as Egyptian scarabs, a Mulready envelop might be a mummy case. The subject is already of much interest historically, artistically, chemically, mechanically, politically, geographically, even legally and criminally. There is already a philatelic literature affording materials for the bibliographer; there are the lives of the Nimrods of stamp-collecting who have spared no labour, and have given fabulous sums for the rarities which it is the hopeless ambition of the poor collector to acquire. These great collections are already becoming historical, and one at least—Mr. Tapling's—has been recently acquired by the British Museum. Can this Society not boast of one Timbrologist?

In respect of abundance and variety of material, archæology, as a whole, resembles that section of it which, in Germany at least, has for the designation of the place consecrated to its worship, the *Antiquariat*, monopolized the whole name. The noble pursuit of library forming—some malign it as book-collecting—has the merit of affording infinite variety to every book-lover individually, and to the whole genus collectively. There is, of course, the risk that in following up one's own tastes and proclivities one may get a little indifferent to, not to say depreciatory of those of one's fellow-collectors. The

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lover, for example, of books printed in the fifteenth century has little in common with him whose hobby it is to amass the literature of railways or bicycling. The man whose specialty is angling will not likely be caught by detective stories, Newgate calendars, trials, last dying speeches and confessions. The amateur of curiosa and facetiæ need not fear as a competitor for the oddities he prizes the historian who wants tracts and books about the Puritans. The modern botanist would disdain a treatise on the evolution of the struggle for existence in the Wars of the Roses. But the irresistible charm of a really great library is that it is an unprejudiced unexclusive gathering of all such special gatherings, and that in it every man finds something to his taste, something to help him. So with archæology as a whole. Each one is able to follow out the line of inquiry which suits him best. But when we have become too deeply engrossed with our own work and tend to unduly overvalue it, it is profitable—so as to avoid the cramping influence of specialism—to reflect that, after all, the end of our labour is to illustrate as fully as possible, and on every side, it may be the life of the individual, or the state of society, or the condition of some locality, or of the nation to which we belong, or some general phenomenon connected with the existence of the race over a given area or during a given period of time. The idea that every firmly established fact is of value in itself, as a nucleus for the addition of other facts, and as a sure basis for a useful generalization, dignifies even the apparently most insignificant detail. In every case it is better to have knowledge than ignorance, better complete and perfect knowledge, better fact than inference, though it be but of a date which is ascertained not without much labour and criticism, than to have guess work and uncertainty. A society such as ours, while it encourages every one's specialty by affording it a sympathetic hearing, counteracts specialism by enabling each one to learn what is doing in other departments than his own, and to show him the enthusiasms of others for subjects of which he is ignorant.

At the conclusion of the present annual report there is a list of comprehensive topics which may be regarded as those to which the society mainly restricts itself. A local society is necessarily in a better position to deal with the antiquities among which it is placed, and with the examination of which it unavoidably identifies itself (since it is the

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chief reason of its being called into existence), than any other. It has the personal interest of its members in places or events or people, with which they are associated possibly by birth or by family connection or by tradition or simply by residence. But here again the Society as a whole must, like the individual, avoid falling into unsympathetic specialism. It must be remembered that whatever may be discovered in any of the branches of the programme, and especially in prehistoric or Roman or architectural antiquities, must be correlated as far as possible with similar antiquities elsewhere, so as to get at the full meaning of them.

That we, here in Glasgow, are lacking in opportunity for such comparison is a patent fact. Museum facilities there are almost none. I do not say that Glasgow cannot manage to flourish without a museum of local antiquities, but I feel quite safe in saying that such a museum would be extremely popular and useful. In London there are the beginnings of one for the city in the Guildhall. In Paris there is the extraordinary collection of Parisian local antiquities of all kinds from the stone age down to the Commune in the Musée Carnavalet. The library of that museum is said to contain 80,000 volumes and 70,000 maps and plans and pictures of Paris. Glasgow could never expect to make a collection like these. The waves of history have not surged round it as they have round these great centres of life and civilization, leaving behind them all sorts of wrecks; the mutations of a score of centuries are not traceable in the city of to-day. But Glasgow is surely old enough, and as yet unmodernized enough, to yield something illustrative of its past existence.

I do not think that the multiplication and competition of museums is at all desirable. While it is of first importance that an object should find a safe resting place somewhere, it is of equal importance that, as far as possible, it should be placed alongside objects of similar character for mutual illustration. It is only by minute comparison of seemingly trivial points that one gets at the meaning and truth of things to begin with, and then to more comprehensive views. But there is a limit also to this accumulation of all objects in one centre. The desiderated comparison is more efficiently served by a local museum for the annals, topography and antiquities of a town or district than by a central museum,

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unless it be of the very largest dimensions, larger than anything in this country. The museum at Colchester, for instance, with its Roman remains located in the Castle, or at York, with its Roman relics in the Hospitium of St. Mary's Abbey, or at Northampton, or in the grim Norman Keep at Newcastle, or at the Chesters, serves perhaps a more useful purpose than if these remains had been transferred to the British Museum. Now, it keeps alive the interest of the people in the place where these have been discovered; it reminds them that their town is a very old one, and it impels some persons, if not many, to pay special attention to the early history of the place; to everyone it is a revival of Roman life in its own home; other similar remains found in the district naturally go to this collection. In fact it keeps in much more vigorous life the taste for archæology and for the preservation of ancient monuments. All these advantages would have been lost if the collection had been distributed and scattered say in the British Museum.

Here in Glasgow there are local antiquities—those relating to the rise and growth of the place itself—maps, pictures, histories, plans, models, and a dozen different things which are of special interest to Glasgow inhabitants, but of comparatively little to the inhabitants of another place, who feel quite intensely about the importance of their own antiquities. To Glasgow one would naturally come to study its history and antiquities rather than go say to the British or Ashmolean Museum, or to Liverpool or Inverness or Edinburgh or Dublin. No one I mean who was attracted to the study of Glasgow topography and history, would think of pursuing it outside of the place itself; he would come *here* and investigate it. But where would he find what he wanted; almost entirely in private hands. There is no public place in the city, the property of the city, cared for and fostered by the city, where its growth and past history can be seen and followed. The present seems a suitable time for something being done to supply this defect, when the city has now assumed such important dimensions, and when it is likely to be provided with accommodation for artistic and ordinary museum purposes commensurate with its size. One fears that the antiquarian and historical side of the growth of the city may be forgotten,

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though that to most persons is more intelligible and attractive than its geology or natural history. It is to be hoped, and this society should not lose sight of it, that in the new Art Galleries ample space will be allocated for a Glasgow collection. There is abundance of material, as the collection in the Bishop's Castle of the recent Exhibition showed; much has certainly been lost and destroyed in the past for want of a suitable place for preserving it in; many presents would flow into a local museum just as into the Glasgow department of the Mitchell Library books have gone to be preserved, which otherwise might have been lost or destroyed, or might have wandered away from the place where they were first produced.

There is no lack of local enthusiasm for the city from the antiquarian point of view, and it can be very safely left in the hands of those who in recent years have written its history, edited some of its characteristic literary productions, preserved by photograph and otherwise the remains of old houses of historic and family interest, told the story of its streets, squares, monuments, and public buildings, and embalmed the memory of that dear old dingy quaint building in the High Street for all who knew it and loved it. I do not think the Glasgow public can ever be grateful enough to the Senate of the University, who have preserved for them the Lion and Unicorn Staircase and the Gateway of the old College.

But there is need after all of a place where Glasgow relics can be preserved and exhibited, and where generation after generation can be brought to profit by the lessons taught by "things old."

There is one other thing that might be worth undertaking by our society. I am open to correction if I am in error, but I do not think there is any authentic list of prehistoric and historic remains in and around Glasgow. We all know that there are vitrified forts—(I confess to having a weakness for vitrified forts, they seem to be so perfectly useless as forts, or for any other conceivable purpose, except to show that they are vitrified, and to puzzle people as to why they were ever made)—standing stones, cromlechs, castles, and what not, but there is no guide to them, no reference to where they are described, or anything more than the personal knowledge of those who may have visited them. An authentic catalogue of such remains by the society would be of much interest and of undoubted value to all antiquarians. It

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would draw the attention of the people of a district to objects worthy of their notice and to the value of the remains they possess, and it would do something towards the protection and preservation of such remains.

The field, gentlemen, is absolutely unlimited except by the capacity of the investigator. There is a superabundance of employment for every one, and there is no eight hours' movement for limiting the work. I can only express the hope at the opening of a new session that more of the good results will be forthcoming which have characterized the society in previous years.

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No. X.

THE RAMSHORN KIRK AND KIRK-YARD:

BY

COLIN DUNLOP DONALD, F.S.A. Scot.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society, held on 21st April, 1892.*]

In the name of this Church we have one of the oldest of the place-names of Glasgow, and one which has come down to us from ancient days with less change than almost any other. The spelling has changed slightly, but the pronunciation must always have been the same. When Glasgow was a hamlet clustering round the Cathedral and the Bishop's Palace, the nearer lands of the See were reserved by the venerable Father for his own and his friends' hunting. But, then, as now, there were poachers, and as the bishops had not the right of forestry, these pests could not be put down so effectively as might be wished. At length this matter was put right when the Bishop, William de Bondington, happened also to be chancellor and so had power at Court. By a charter, 12th September, 1242,[1] Alexander the Second granted "Venerabili patri "Gulielmo Episcopo Glasguenis" that he and his successors should hold his lands around Glasgow, viz., "terras de conclud de Schedinistun, de Ballayn, "de Badermonock, de Possele et de Kenmore, de Garvach, de Nentun, de "Leys, de Ramnishorene, et terram Burgi" in free forestry. No one who had not the Bishop's leave could hunt on these lands under the penalty of a fine of two pounds, a large sum in those days.

Two hundred and fifty years later we find the name spelt "Ramyshorne" in a charter, dated 31st May, 1494,[2] by Archibald Quhitelaw, Sub-dean of Glasgow, founding a chapel at the altar of St. John the Baptist in the Church of Glasgow. In a charter of the same year[3] in the Liber Collegii Nostre Domine the name is spelt "Rammyshorne." Now, what is the derivation of

1 *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, Maitland Club, 1843, vol. i. p. 147.

2 *Reg. Episc. Glas.*, ii. p. 487.

3 *Liber Collegii Nostre Domine*, Maitland Club, 1846, p. 258.

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this somewhat peculiar name? Mr. Andrew Brown, who wrote a history of Glasgow in 1795, gives the following ingenious account of the origin of the name.[1] "For the local name of these grounds we have recourse to "tradition which says that in former times the shepherds were in the practice, "like the patriarchs of old, at rutting time to bring their flocks into the low "grounds to meet the rams in common for the propagation and support of a "mixed breed as necessary in the different races of quadrupeds; and that some "night the demon of jealousy pervaded the rams insomuch that, neglecting "the ewes, they began a furious battle and carried it on with so much rage, "that in the morning the shepherds found the grounds strewn with the horns "of the rams." Dr. Buchanan and Dr. W. H. Hill both suggest "Ramsholm" as the derivation. But this is not quite satisfactory. I am not aware that the word ram is ever spelt with an "n." but he would be a bold man who would put a limit on the license of old spelling. How about the last syllable? In the earliest charter it is spelt "horen," the full spelling probably being "horene." With every allowance for license it is hard to see how "holm" could ever have become "horen" or "horn." I asked Professor Mackinnon, of Edinburgh, if he could throw any light on the matter from the Celtic side, but he declined to commit himself to an opinion; saying, however, that if the "s" was to be taken as a sign of the possessive case, the name was not Gaelic. I then had recourse to the Rev. Mr. Johnston, of Falkirk, whose Book, *Place Names of Scotland*, is well known to the members of this Society. He also had some difficulty with the name, but he suggests that it is "Ramni's Horene or Horn," the horn or spur of land belonging to a man named Ramni. Mr. Johnston says that Ramni was a Saxon name, and quotes a place in Wilt, now called Ramsbury, but which of old was spelt "Ramnesby-rig." "Horn," he says, both in Celtic and English means a spur of land. Now, the Ramshorn lands, consisting of twenty and a half acres imperial, were an irregular parallelogram bounded on the east by North Albion and Portland Streets; on the south by Ingram Street; on the west, roughly speaking, by Queen Street; and on the north by Cathedral Street and Rottenrow.

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[1] *History of Glasgow and of Paisley, Greenock, and Port-Glasgow, by Andrew Brown*, Octavo, Glasgow, 1795, vol. ii. p. 85.

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They included and ran along the south face of the brae, crowned by the Rotten Row, which brae is the last spur of the high ground before it sinks into the flat haughs of Clyde. If a man, Ramni, did possess or cultivate this ground, it is probable enough that the hill and adjacent ground would get the name of Ramnishoren.

After the Reformation the lands of Ramshorn were feued out by Walter Stewart, the Commendator of Blantyre, by charter, dated 21st December, 1588, to James Foullis, of Collington, and Agnes Heriot, his wife. After passing through the hands of several other proprietors, all of whom are mentioned by Mr. Hill, in his admirable *History of Hutcheson's Hospital*,[1] the lands were bought in 1609 by George Hutcheson, the founder of the Hospital. From him they descended to Ninian Hill, who in 1694 sold them to the Magistrates of Glasgow for the Merchants' House, the Trades' House, and Hutcheson's Hospital. Ultimately the whole purchase, costing 20,300 marks, was shoved over on to Hutcheson's Hospital. With a frankness which verges on cynicism, the Magistrates minuted that the purchase was made for the express purpose of preventing the lands from being improved to the prejudice of the town. The reason of this fear was that at this time these lands were outwith the burgh, and so free from burgh imposts. When the Magistrates did convey them to the Hospital, they imposed various burdens, grievous to be borne, and retained the superiority. The whole thing, in fact, was an "iniquitous job."

In 1694 and for nearly a century afterwards the Ramshorn lands were let to small farmers. Very small farmers they must have been, for on Ramshorn and Meadowflat, amounting together only to thirty-five acres, there were several tenants; one of whom had only three acres. Noisy grumbling tenants they were too, always demanding a reduction of rent. To make up for the loss on the rent, the Hospital opened several quarries. One of them was not a success. The lessee craved for an abatement of rent, and stigmatised the stone "as being a dour stone ill to work and wanting in baith back and belly."

The Hospital kept the Meadowflat and Ramshorn lands till 1772, when they sold them to the Town for a feu-duty of £113 10s. In addition, the Town

[1] pp. 90-91.

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paid £2,020, but it is not certain how much of this effeirs to Deanside and Cribbs bought by them at the same time.

In 1718 the Magistrates resolved to build another church in Glasgow, and they bought from the Hospital a part of Ramshorn for the kirk and kirkyard. It is somewhat curious that they should have placed this church outside of the town's boundaries. The site was occupied as a market garden, and the tenants got "compensation for disturbance," as appears from the following entry in the Town Records[1]:—"13th Jan., 1719, ordain John Orr, late "Treasurer, to pay to William Steward, elder and yr gardeners, tacksmen of "Hutcheson's Hospitalls yeard at the head of the Candleriggs, the soume of "£108 16s. 4d. Scots money in full satisfaction to them for the loss and "damage by the rooting out of their berry and aple trees, goose berry, and "curren busses, kaill, leeks, and other ground herbs upon the one rood and "ane half taken off the said yeard for a church and churchyeard to be builded "thereupon, and benefit of the gooding of the said ground." The first Ramshorn Church was built in 1720, and M'Ure[2] is enthusiastic about it even for him. "There are," he says, "two considerable buildings lately "finished within this city, viz., that stately and magnificent structure, the "*North-west Kirk*; it lies at the head of the new street in a pleasant valley, "and is of length from east to west 27 ells, and in breadth at the west end "26 ells. It has stately Wainscot loafts round, and a curious pulpit opposite "to the Magistrates' loaft, and below contains about one hundred and seventy-"four seats or pews for the hearers. It is illuminated with curious shorn "windows, and a fine roof curiously painted; it hath no pillars to support it, "yet this and the new church contains more people than any two churches in "the city; and it is beautified with a stately high steeple of one hundred and "forty-one feet high. It has a curious prospect decorating four streets, viz., "the new street, Tron Street, King's Street, and Bridge Street; the steeple "hath four dial-plates and a large clock and bell, with a burial-yard and dyke, "about 230 ells round, with the proprietors' burial-places and inscriptions."

A picture of the church, which roused M'Ure to such enthusiasm, will be found in "Glasgow Delineated."[3] It is not beautiful, but considering the

[1] *Memorabilia of Glasgow*, 1868, p. 337.
[2] *A View of the City of Glasgow*, 1736, p. 285.
[3] p. 21.

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time when it was built, it might have been worse. It was taken down early in the century, and the present church built on its site. The architect of the new church was Mr. Rickman, but Dr. Cleland got hold of the plans, and, after being for two days and two nights in labour, brought forth the crypt. There is a caricature in Heath's *Northern Looking-Glass*, showing people falling down the very steep front stair. When the new church was built, part of the church-yard was thrown into Ingram Street, to widen it, and we now walk over the dust of many a city father.

The *Glasgow Herald* of 24th July, 1884, contained a list of lair-holders in the Ramshorn Burying Ground, published under the "Glasgow Public Parks Act, 1878," which was of interest. By that advertisement notice was given to the representatives of these lair-holders that if they did not repair and restore their monuments, the Town would remove them. The notice has done some good, and several of the grave-stones and tablets have been repaired.

For long the north-west or Ramshorn burying-ground was the most fashionable in Glasgow. In it were buried many of the foremost of our citizens. There were buried the great John Glassford; Alexander or "Picture" Gordon, of Stirling, Gordon & Co.; John Wilson, of Kelvinbank, the well-known town-clerk; Nicol Brown, of Waterhaughs; Arthur Connell, Provost, and a mighty merchant; Charles Wilsone, gentlest of Surgeons; William Angus, probably the most successful teacher ever known in Glasgow; John Campbell, Sen., the great West India merchant; George Stirling, of the old line of Stirlings; Collector William Corbett; James Henderson, of Enoch Bank; Robert Gray, the great silversmith; Robin Carrick, of the Ship Bank. But to give a list of all the well-known men who owned lairs or were buried in this kirk-yard would be endless, and tend but little to edification, while to write a full notice of them would need a volume.

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No. XI.

NOTE ON A BROADSWORD FOUND AT AUCHENTORLIE, DUMBARTONSHIRE, AND AN OLD DAGGER WITH FRENCH INSCRIPTION:

BY

DAVID MURRAY, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 9th February, 1891.*]

The Broadsword is the property of Mr. Fergusson Buchanan of Auchentorlie, Dumbartonshire, and was recently found in the bed of a burn on his estate. It is a basket-hilted Highland broadsword of the usual type. The blade is flat, without median ridge, double-edged, 35¼ inches in length and 1⅜ inches in breadth at the joint. The taper is very slight, being only ⅜ of an inch in 33 inches. The hilt is open steel work, terminating in an acorn-shaped pommel. The grip is 4½ inches in length, and is still surrounded with wood, which has been covered with leather,—of which a fragment remains,—and the wood shows that a strong wire had been twisted spirally round it. The sword when found lay flat in the burn, a stone covering the nine inches next the hilt. The remainder was bare. Probably it had all been covered with sand or gravel, which being washed away brought the blade to view. The part which the stone covered is well preserved. The remainder of the same and the under side are puckered and pimpled by rust. The protecting stone has preserved the inscription "Andr(e)a" running along the blade, with four punched heads; one head preceding the an, the dr, and ea, and one following the last two letters. The heads are well cut, and stand at right angles to the letters. The heads and letters occupy a flat space five inches in length,

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with two parallel grooves or channels on each side. There are corresponding grooves on the other side, and four heads similar to those on the other side, but no lettering is visible. It is a reasonable conjection, however, that the letters of the word "FERARA" or "FARARA" alternated with the heads. The heads are surmounted by thick broad-brimmed hats of a Spanish or Moorish type. The edges of the blade are much hacked, but it still retains its temper, and can be easily bent.

Claverhouse's sword, lent to the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 by the Duke of Montrose, has the word "ANDREA" on the one side and "FARARA" on the other, with a series (said to be seven) of crowned heads on each side.[1] Its length is 33⅛ inches, breadth at the junction 1⅜ inches, and grip 3½ inches in length. The two weapons, therefore, very closely correspond in general appearance and are presumably by the same maker. The style of the heads on the present sword gives some support to the suggestion that Feraria blades were originally of Spanish manufacture, and took their names from Feraria in the province of Corunna. Ferreira, it will be remembered, is a common Portuguese surname.

The dagger or rapier is the property of Mr. Robert Buchanan of the Star Foundry, Dumbarton. It has been many years in the possession of his wife's family, and is understood to have come from Dumbarton Castle. It has been fitted with a wooden handle and used as a screw driver. Mr. Buchanan's attention having, however, been attracted by something unusual in its appearance, he had it cleaned, when its real nature was disclosed. The blade is now 7½ inches in length, but has been broken, and was originally longer. The upper part, 4½ inches, is engraved with scroll work of geometrical design, and bears two well-known mottoes—on the one side, *Ne me tirer pas sans raison;* on the other, *Ne me remettez point sans honneur.* The lettering is in the style of the 17th or early part of the 18th century. The lower part of the blade is on each side ground into three flat and equal faces. It is not easy to say how much of the blade has been broken away. What remains is edgeless, and suggests that the weapon was not a dagger but a rapier, but the taper is hardly consistent with the length of that weapon.

[1] See *Scottish National Memorials*, pp. 118, 261.

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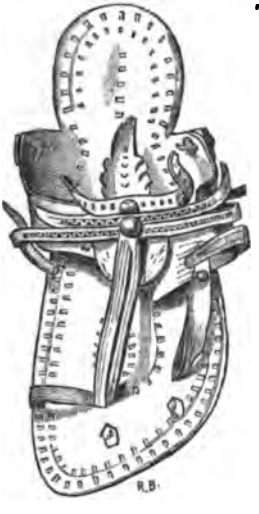
No. XII.

NOTE ON OLD SANDAL, FOUND AT KINNING PARK, GLASGOW:

BY

ROBERT BRYDALL.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society, held on 21st April, 1892.*]



THE sandal is 10⅛ inches in length, 4⅛ across the toes, 2½ across the heel, and is shaped for the left foot. The sole is formed of six or seven pieces of leather for the foot, with six or seven additional to raise the heel; the two pieces on the under surface (not including the heel) are, the one a quarter, and the other half an inch, smaller than the sole; the sole is ¾ of an inch thick for the foot, and 1½ inches for the heel; and the plies of leather are neatly sewed together with thong round the margin and along the centre. A longitudinal section of the entire sole shows rather a wedge-like shape than the abrupt thickening of the heel on a modern shoe.

The piece of leather forming the upper surface of the sole is shaped so as to bend up on each side for a length of about 2½ inches, beginning at 2½ inches from the heel; this part is an inch higher than the sole for half its length, the other half rising 2 inches higher. These tongues slope slightly forward so as to partly cover the sides of the foot. On the high part or centre of the instep is a leaf-shaped piece of leather, the narrow part pointing upwards, and the lower part covering the extremities of the side tongues. On the centre of the leaf are two leather beads about ¼ of an inch in diameter, which fasten three narrow straps passing down each side of the foot partly covering the side tongues, into which they have been inserted near the sole. A strap about ½ an inch in width, sliced down its centre and narrowed at its extremities,

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passes from the lowest bead to its insertion in the surface of the sole between the great and second toe: underneath it is a narrower strip following the same course, but perforating the lower part of the leaf-shaped piece on instep. On the outside of the foot, a double strap fastened to the side tongue half-way up the instep passes forwards, and is inserted into the sole between the fourth and little toe: a ring of leather half an inch broad rises from the sole, to receive the great toe. The only traces of fastenings in connection with the heel are remains of tags on the posterior parts of the tongue rising from the sides of the sole.

The straps are decorated by neat incisions on the surface, those passing from the instep to the toes, and the ring for the great toe being reeded.

The sandal was found in June, 1889, at Messrs. M'Neil's Kinning Park Ironworks in West Scotland Street, when digging under the main front wall. The depth from the surface where it was found was about four feet, and it lay in a natural deposit of sand, there being from two feet six inches to three feet of made-up or deposited rubbish above the sand.

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No. XIII.

THE RUINED TEMPLES OF CENTRAL AFRICA: ZIMBABWE IN MASHONALAND,

Its Archæology, Astronomy, and Mathematics:

BY

ROBERT M. W. SWAN.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society, held on 15th December, 1892.*]

Africa has ever been the strange continent, and the Romans always looked to it for news; and the Arab sailors, in the days of the splendour of the Caliphate of Bagdad, told tales of their travels in Africa which the romancer of those days wove into the wondrous story of the adventures of Sinbad. Our civilisation received vague echoes from classical times of traditions regarding a white race which dwelt in Central Africa, and until recently some enthusiasts fondly hoped that we should yet find them there. The traditions were true. The white race had undoubtedly been there, but it had abandoned Africa a few thousand years before our time. My purpose to-night is to tell you what I can about this white race, and to show you some pictures of the buildings and other things which they left behind in the heart of the strange continent.

During the four centuries that Europeans have known South-eastern Africa, rumours had filtered to the coast regarding mighty ruins which existed in the interior. The earliest Portugese historians of the country, in the end of the fifteenth century, chronicled the tales of wandering Arabs who said that they had seen them, and Du Barros, who writes a little later, has given a short description of them which evidently applies to Zimbabwe, but which is so inaccurate that he must have got it from a much carried report, and not from an eye-witness. Even in these early times the stories which reached the coast so stirred the imaginations of the Portugese that in the sixteenth century we find the Viceroy of the Indies praying the King of Portugal to send an expedition to penetrate to the interior of the country and examine the ruins. But the Portugese never penetrated so far inland and never saw Zimbabwe,

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and it was left for Herr Carl Mauch to re-discover it about twenty years ago, and for Mr. Rider Haggard to weave the stories of the negroes regarding it into his weird romances, which, however startling they may be, are not more weird than the many tales that one hears from the negroes even now when they are collected round a camp fire after the day labours are done. The most thrilling romance and the most 'eerie' ghost story find a fitting atmosphere in Africa. The character of its people, their curious superstitions, its scenery and the unique style of its remarkable vegetation, as seen in its primeval forests and its gigantic trees—these give the atmosphere of Africa its weird tone.

Nearly three years ago some officers from the British South African Company's expedition into Mashonaland visited the ruins, and the accounts which they sent home excited a keen interest in this country, and it was considered desirable that the ruins should be thoroughly examined.

When I visited Zimbabwe with Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Bent last year, the appearance of the great temple was sufficient to fire the dullest imagination. After a long, hard, and difficult journey, our waggons arrived within two miles of the great temple, and we eagerly set off on foot to this goal of our four months' travelling. We arrived under its wall just as the sun was setting, and we hastily penetrated through a breach in the wall. We found the whole interior filled with the densest tropical undergrowth, through which grew great trees, from whose branches hung a network of tangled creepers and lianas. We cut a way through the undergrowth, and when the last of the daylight was lingering, we reached the base of the great tower which stood up through the dense foliage, and the scene there, in the dim light, was so awe-inspiring that it was difficult to persuade oneself that the place was not haunted by the spirits of a long-forgotten race.

We returned to our waggons in the dark, and although we lost our way in the bush and found much pain and trouble in searching for our home, yet we were happy that night when we discussed things around our fire that we had made this hasty visit to the temple, and satisfied ourselves that the troubles of our journey had been amply repaid by what we had reached.

The stone-built ruins of Mashonaland are distributed over a wide geographical area. One finds them as far west as Tati in Matabeleland, as far

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south as the Limpopo, and as far north as the Zambezi. They have not been found farther eastward than the edge of the high plateau, but we need not assume that they do not exist in the low country near the Sofala coast, for they might there easily escape observation in the thick bush.

The ruins may be divided into three classes. Those of the first and most ancient class are all either circular in form, or are built on a series of circular curves. The walls are built in extremely regular level courses of masonry, but of unhewn blocks of granite about the size of our granite paving stones. The more regularly shaped blocks have been selected for the facing of the walls, and the less shapely stones have been carefully built inside. All of these buildings, which are fairly complete, have the outer wall decorated on the side which faces the sun, when either rising or setting at one of the solstices, by a pattern of a geometrical kind. The placing of this pattern is very accurate.

The ruins of the second class are rough imitations of the more ancient ones. Their courses are less even, their outlines less regular, and although they have similar geometric decorations, these are generally much less accurately oriented. Also, they are not built on the same mathematical system as the more ancient ones. They seem to be imitations of the older buildings, made not by the same people, but by another less ancient race.

The third class of ruins are of much poorer and less regular workmanship, bear no decorations whatever, and are not made on any regular plan. They have probably been built by the black inhabitants of the country, and we find Kaffirs, even to-day, constructing similar walls.

In none of the three classes of buildings is mortar used.

Besides Zimbabwe we visited three ruins of the first class, one of the second, and encountered many of the third class.

At Zimbabwe there are many ruins of each of the three classes, but I shall describe only the ruins on Zimbabwe hill, and the great temple on the plain below. The hill rises about 300 feet above the plain. On three sides it ascends steeply for about two thirds of this height, and the summit is composed of immense blocks of granite which form a broken ridge about fifty feet high. Behind this ridge on the south-west side, there is a small level plateau about fifty feet wide, and it is bounded by a precipice which falls

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90 feet sheer towards the south. The ruins stand along this little ledge or plateau and cover also another little level patch at the west end of the line of granite boulders. They occupy an almost impregnable position, for the insurmountable granite boulders and the precipice defend all but the western end, and this has been defended by a very strong semi-circular wall. There are three entrances to the enclosure. One is through a very narrow break in the line of boulders at the eastern end, the other leads by some intricate passages past one end of the great western wall, and the third is through a cleft in the precipice, which will be shown you in a photograph. These walls compose two important temples and a number of less important buildings. The thick curved western wall forms the most important part of the western temple. The eastern temple, which measures about 60 feet across, stands under a great boulder or cliff about fifty feet high. On two sides it is enclosed by cliffs, and the rest of the enclosure is formed by a curved wall. On the part of this wall which faces the sun when rising at the summer solstice, there is constructed a decoration of the *dentelle* kind, formed by placing the stones of two courses diamond wise. There is a great rock poised on the summit of the cliff which forms the northern wall of the temple, and it seems to have been an object of adoration to the worshippers in the temple below. This rock is about the highest point on the hill, and it is a remarkable-looking object when seen from the south side.

The temples are unique in their plan and style of architecture, and do not resemble any buildings found in other lands. The least dissimilar stone remains that I know of are the rough stone circles found so frequently in all the countries of Europe and in many parts of Asia and Northern Africa, and they are parallels to Zimbabwe only in so far as they are partly circular in form, and seem to have been devoted to purposes of solar worship and, perhaps sometimes, of astronomical observation. The Mashonaland temples are generally circular, and never present any angles, and those of the best period never contain a straight wall. They are all built of small blocks of granite which have been derived from the surrounding rock, which generally breaks up in layers, and which is traversed by joints. On no stone has a chisel mark been found, and rarely does even a hammer seem to have been used to shape the stones; and the people of Zimbabwe could probably say of their temple

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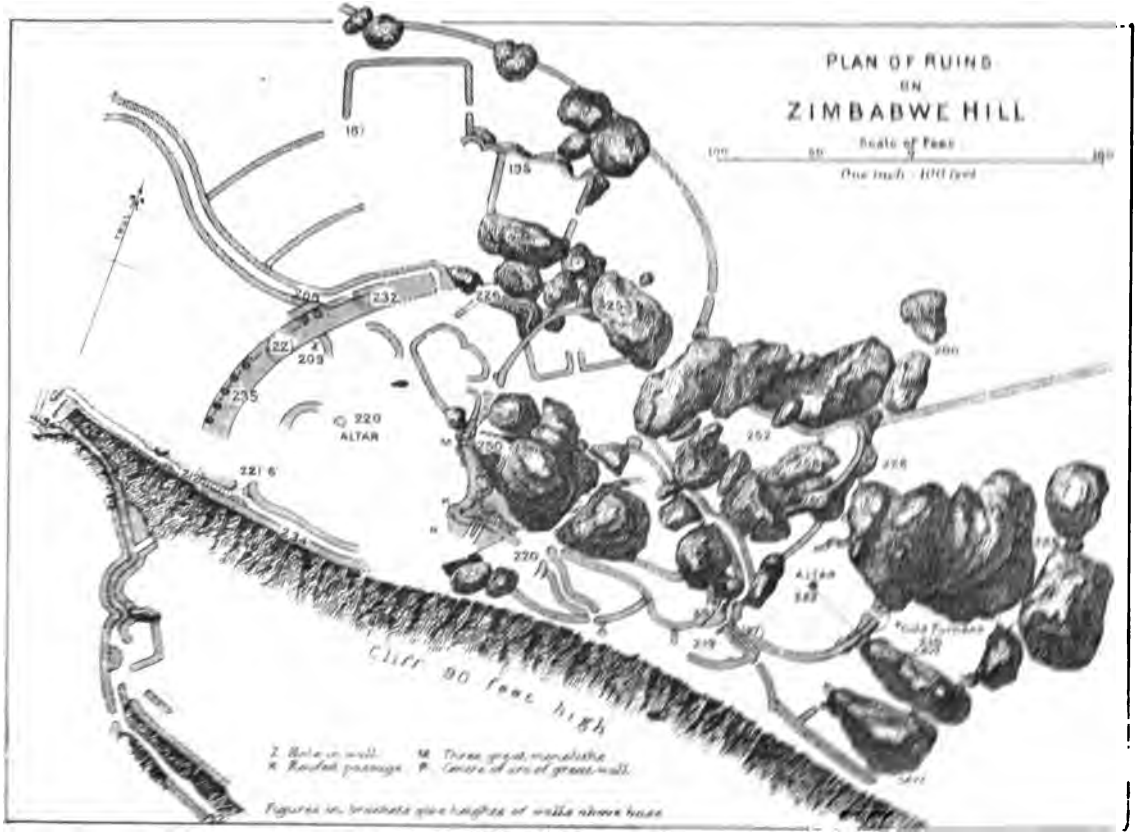

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what the Hebrew Chronicler said of that of King Solomon, that no sound of hammer had been heard in the place while it was building.[1] Large stones might easily have been obtained, but only small stones and stones of a fairly uniform size have been used; and the reason for this probably was, that the curves on which the walls are built might be regularly formed. The evenness of the masonry has been attained solely by a careful selection of stones of a similar thickness for each one of the courses, and by the more regularly shaped stones being used for the facing of the walls. The result of this care is certainly a marvellously true reproduction in dry stone masonry of a carefully designed plan; and one's wonder is excited by the accurate construction of the curves of the walls, and more especially of the great tower, which is a masterpiece, and almost as true in its lines as the column of a Greek temple.

A glance at the plan will give a clearer idea of the temple than I can convey in words. Its most important feature is the great outer wall which is about 15 feet thick at its base, and 25 feet high. The greatest diameter of the temple is about 250 feet. The original buildings inside the temple are nearly all destroyed, but the greater part of a long wall parallel to the outer wall remains. Between it and the outer wall is a long, narrow passage which leads from the principal doorway to the sacred enclosure in which stand the two towers. These towers were the most important objects of reverence in the form of nature worship which was practised by the builders of Zimbabwe.

But these people also associated solar worship with the worship of fertility, and quite as numerous as the phalli which we found were the little terra-cotta images of the solar disc, and these resemble the hieroglyphic sign for Ra, the Egyptian sun-god. But this symbol was employed commonly by most ancient peoples to signify the sun; and, indeed, we now use it in our astronomical books with the same meaning, so that we cannot argue an Egyptian origin for these discs. Each one of the temples was decorated by a geometrical design which was oriented to the sun on the horizon when

[1] This using of only naturally formed stones reminds us of what is written in Exodus xx. 25. "If thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not make it of hewn stone; for if thou lift up thy tool upon it thou hast polluted it;" and it suggests that it was a religious necessity that the temple should be built of unwrought stone.

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either rising or setting at one of the solstices. This temple is decorated on the part of the outer wall which faces the sun when rising at the summer solstice, by a chevron pattern constructed of the same small stones, and which was probably symbolical of fertility. It resembles the Egyptian hieroglyphic, as also the Chaldean symbol for water, and the time-honoured sign for Aquarius, and may have meant water; for at Zimbabwe, as in Egypt, it is at the summer solstice that water is most abundant, vegetation most luxuriant, and the earth most fertile. We have five instances of temples in Mashonaland being oriented in this way, and while the decorations had a purely reverential signification, means seem also to have been provided to mark the occurrence of the solstice, and thus regulate the calendar.

The most interesting points in these temples are those connected with an observation of the stars. They are very numerous, and in no ancient temple that I know of are so many means provided for watching these heavenly bodies. The ancient Egyptians and the Greeks observed stars on the horizon, and oriented their temples toward the point on the horizon at which the special star rose; and the chief yearly festival of the temple so oriented, was celebrated when the time of the rising or setting of the star nearly coincided with that of the sun. Thus the sun's position relatively to that of the star could be easily observed, and its position in the zodiac or its progress in its yearly circuit ascertained. Thus the calendar came to be regulated by these yearly festivals, and thus ideas of worship came to be attached to certain stars; and particular stars seem to have been associated with certain gods. A similar attachment of ideas of worship to certain stars seems to have influenced the people at Zimbabwe; for we find that they did not pay any regard to the stars of the southern hemisphere, in which they found themselves, but only to stars of the northern hemisphere, from which doubtless they had come and where they had learnt to reverence the heavenly bodies.

Before we describe the manner in which they observed the stars, we must further examine the plan on which the temples were built. The great outer wall when first glanced at, seems to be built on an irregular ellipse; but when it is carefully examined it is found to be built on a series of circular curves, with radii of different lengths. The most important of these curves are A K, K B and B C. We first of all found the centres of these arcs, and then we

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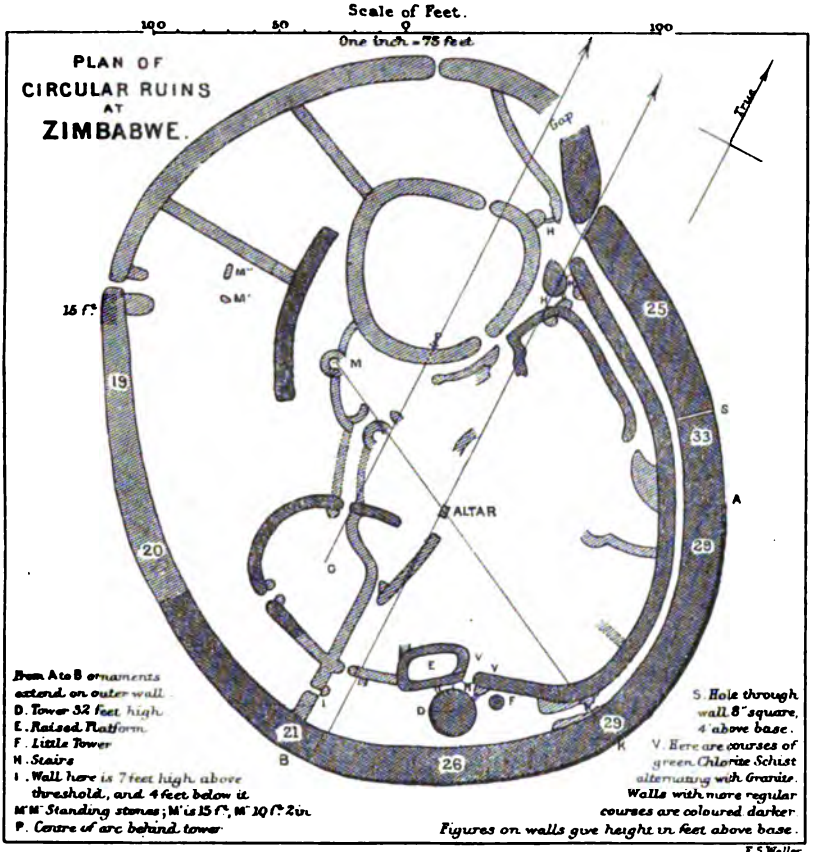

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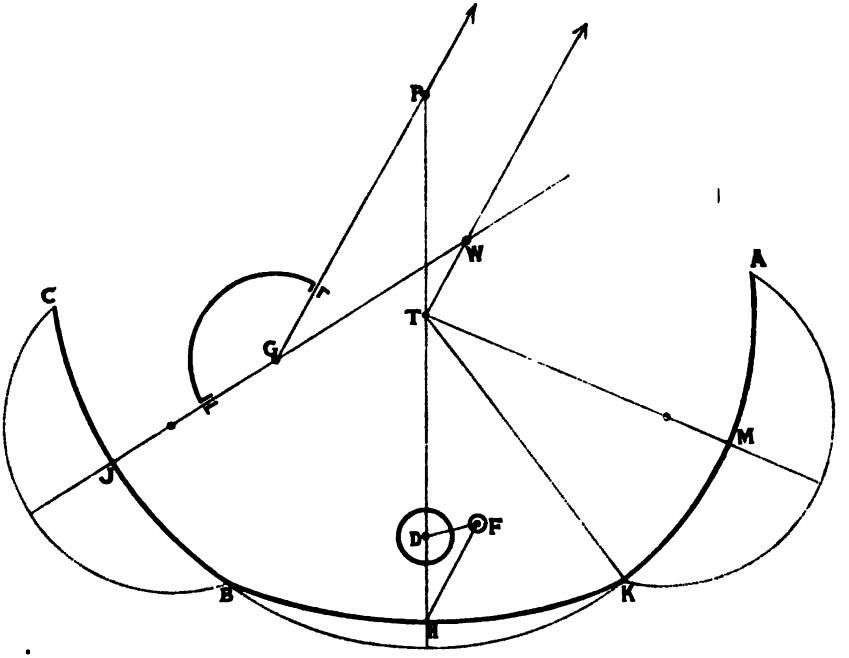
discovered that they ranged themselves on two true north and south or meridian lines. We had previously observed that all the temples had doorways true north of the centre of the curves of their walls; and it holds true of every temple of the best style which we saw in Mashonaland, that every centre of an arc had a doorway true north of it: or where it was impossible from the nature of the ground to have a doorway in this position, then the north point was marked by an erect monolith. We know of only four door-



The thicker curved lines in this diagram correspond to the outer lines of foundations of walls.

ways which are not true north of a centre, and their positions can be otherwise explained. The two above-mentioned meridian lines T W and G P point, the one through the centre of the great doorway, and the other through a gap in the wall where a doorway had probably been.

Having fixed the centres of the arcs we measured their radii, but we could find no simple relation which their lengths bore to each other; and it occurred

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to us that if we could recover the unit of measure which the builders had used, we might get some light on this point, and perhaps also some indication of the origin of the people. We could find no trace of any known measure having been used in any of the dimensions of the temple itself, except in the diameter of the great tower at its base, and this diameter we found was exactly equal to 10 cubits of 20·62 inches each.

Most primitive measures are based on the length or breadth of some part of the human body, as for instance the palm, finger, fathom, foot, and others; and the cubit represents the length of the fore-arm. It was in common use among all early Semitic races, and also among a few other people who seem to have borrowed it from the Semites, so that its discovery does not help us much in our search for the origin of the temple builders, but it enables us to eliminate all non-cubit using peoples from our enquiry. There were royal and other cubits of widely differing lengths, but the common cubit was among all ancient races of nearly equal length, and varied only a fraction of an inch; and 20·62 inches represents about the average length of all common cubits.

We were puzzled to account for the cubit being used only in this one measure, until we discovered that the circumference of the little tower was exactly equal to the diameter of the great one, and then the whole system of measurement disclosed itself. The ten-cubit diameter of the great tower multiplied by the ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter, or by its square or cube, gives us either the radius or the diameter, or halves of these, of the curve of every wall of the original period which we have measured in Mashonaland. We had vainly tried to make the hundred-cubit measure of 171¾ feet fit as the radius of the curve K B, and we found that 169·34 feet (that is the diameter of the tower multiplied by the square of the above ratio) fitted exactly. We have in all measured some ten curves in Mashonaland.[1]

Curves with radii similarly constructed have determined the contours of the towers, and we have thus been able to restore them as is shown in the diagram. The heights of the towers, when thus restored, bear to each other the same extraordinary relation, and this is a mathematical necessity. Their

[1] In *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland* (Longmans, London), we have given the measurements of these ten curves, and they had all been constructed on this system.

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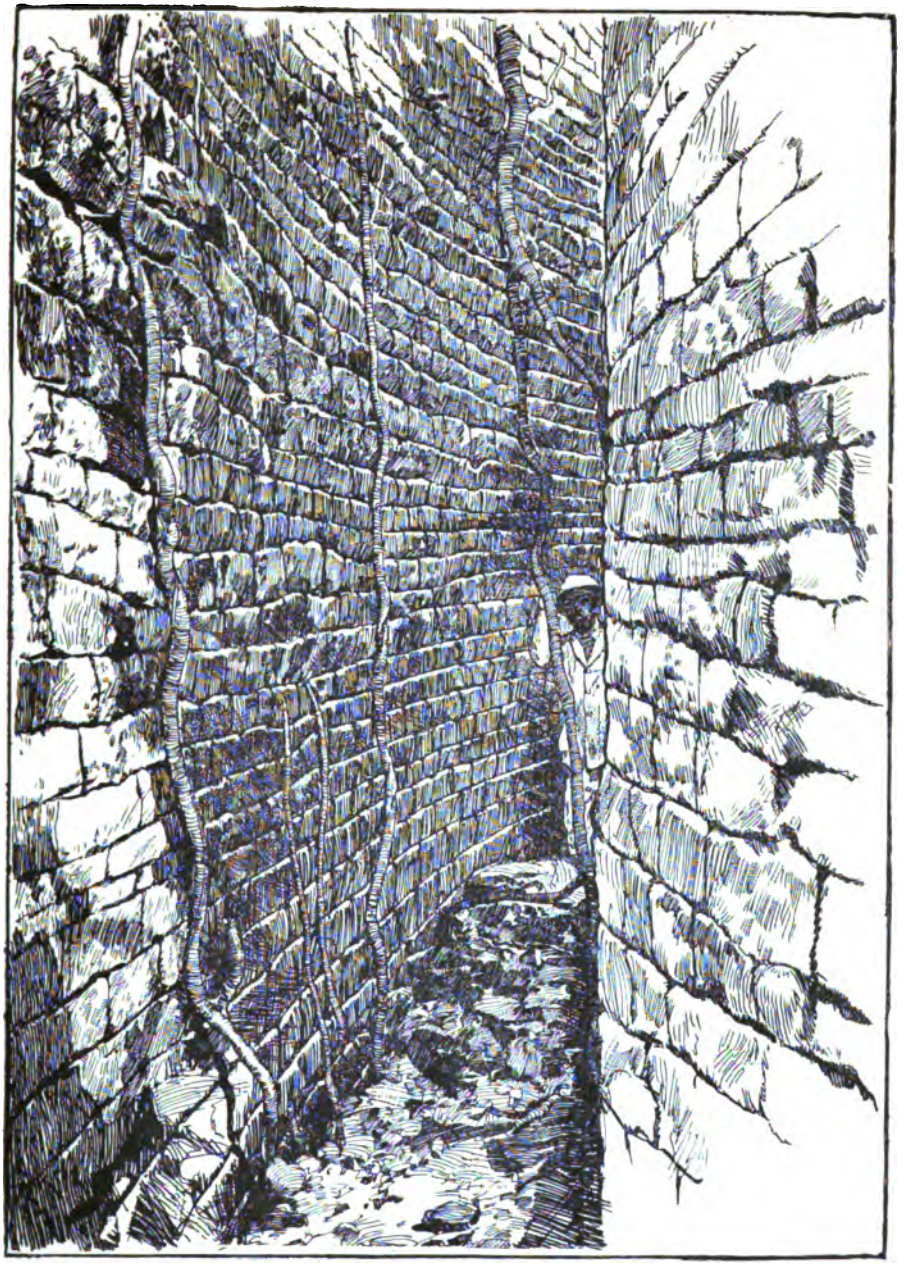

THE NARROW PASSAGE LEADING TO THE TOWERS.

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heights are 13½ and 42⅓ feet respectively. To the towers thus restored, we find a curious parallel on a coin of Byblos, where we have a similar tower standing in a roofless temple.

The position of the towers—the most important religious symbols in the temple—placed as they are, near the outer wall, is curious; but it is explained on the same principle of measurement. If we mark a point (H on diagram) on the arc K B midway between its extremities, we find that the centre of the tower is distant from this point half the length of its own circumference, and the centre of the little tower is twice its circumference from the same point, while the distance between the centres of the two towers is equal to the diameter of the one and the circumference of the other. The distance between the circumferences of the towers seems also to have had its part to play; but into this we cannot enter at present.

A line from H through the centre of the little tower points true north, and we thus see that while the proportions of the towers embody the proportions of the temple the relative positions of the towers determine its orientation, and also give us the direction of the longer axis of the temple which is N 29′ 31° 8″ E. The fixing of the orientation in this way also enables us to calculate with any required degree of accuracy the bearing of any line in the temple. This orientation agrees to within a fraction of a degree with the orientation actually found by prismatic compass bearings, and if the line T W be drawn parallel to H F, when produced it will pass exactly through the middle of the great doorway.[1]

Another point remains to be mentioned. We have said that the centres of these three curves of the walls are each on one of the two meridian lines, but this will not fix the lengths of the curves nor their points of intersection. This however, seems to have been done in a way which can best be shown in the diagram. Let us continue the curve A K, and we find it intersects the other at B; and the distance between H and the middle point of this curve is exactly equal to the radius of the great tower. Other curves with their radii constructed on the usual system apply in a similar way to all the arcs of which we have measurements.

[1] The error in orientation is probably not more than 10 minutes of a degree, and is perhaps much less.

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One of the most important points in the temple is at T in the plan, and here most probably a solar altar stood. It is the centre of the arc A K, and also of the arc which determines the length of K B. It is also true south of the middle of the main doorway, and it probably was the first point fixed in laying down the plan of the temple. The line of sight from T runs through the main doorway true north with marvellous accuracy to the great stone, which, I have said, is poised on the cliff above the eastern hill temple. This stone had been used to mark out the meridian, and from the altar at T, stars seem to have been observed at their culminations over the stone, or occulting behind it. The position of T, and consequently of the temple, seem to have been controlled by this stone, and it is probably placed just as far south of the stone as it is in order that the line of sight might have an inclination suitable for observing a certain star.

In marking out the foundations of the temple this meridian line had probably first of all been laid down, and doubtless we have similar alignments described in the ancient Egyptian inscriptions, in which the king is spoken of as stretching the cord while keeping his eye fixed on a star, and driving a stake into the ground to which he made fast the cord, the goddess appropriate to the star and the temple assisting him. At Zimbabwe, however, the meridian line must have been laid down by means of south circumpolar stars, and these do not seem to have been reverenced there.

From A to B along the outer wall near its top, a decoration of the chevron kind extends, and it covers the part of the wall which faces the sun when it rises at the midsummer solstice. The middle of this pattern is at K, which is the point of intersection of the arcs A K and K B. To an observer standing at T the sun would seem to rise behind K at the summer solstice, but it would not appear over the wall until it had attained an altitude of about nine degrees; and then it would be six hours from the meridian, and its amplitude would be equal to the obliquity of the ecliptic. Now the bearing of K from T admits of being accurately determined, and it is a very curious fact that its direction corresponds exactly with the obliquity of the ecliptic at 1000 B.C. To an observer standing at T the sun would not now at the solstice appear to rise over K, but further north; at 1000 B.C., however, it would rise exactly over K. We might attempt to base a date argument on this, but, although we

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BIRDS ON PEDESTALS MADE OF SOAPSTONE.

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know that the astronomical observations made at Zimbabwe were accurate to within a fraction of a degree, yet it seems improbable that they were accurate to within a few minutes of a degree; and this we should require for such a purpose. Besides, the data from which we calculate the bearing of this line preclude us from using it in this way.

There are other two well marked lines of sight which cut the meridian at an angle of 29½ degrees, but from opposite sides. One of these starts from J (a point midway between the extremities of the arc B C), and passes through a doorway in the little interior temple and through G (the centre of that temple), also through W (the centre of B C), and over the outer wall, where its position seems to have been marked by a step extending across the top of the wall.

The other line starts from H and passes through the tower, through T, and P.

These lines are probably survivals from a temple in the parent country, where they may have been used to observe a star at its elongations, or when it was true east and west of the pole—that is when it was six hours from the meridian. The people of Zimbabwe seem to have made a practise of observing stars when they were in this position. It is worthy of remark, that a star which would cross these lines in the northern hemisphere, would seem to pass behind the great stone when crossing the meridian at Zimbabwe. At Zimbabwe, northern stars could not be observed at their elongations, as the north pole was below the horizon.

As we have said, the centres of the curves seem to have been used for astronomical observation, and we invariably find a point north of every centre marked in some way. The meridian lines are laid off with great accuracy, and to within a small fraction of a degree; and, as at Zimbabwe, the north pole is depressed more than 20 degrees below the horizon, and the horizon all around is broken by mountains, the only simple way of doing this would be by an observation of south circumpolar stars; so we may assume that since the builders of Zimbabwe could use southern stars for this purpose, they also knew that these stars would serve as well for regulating their calendar, and for other purposes, as northern ones: and yet we find no evidence of any regard being paid to southern stars. The face of the observer was always turned north-

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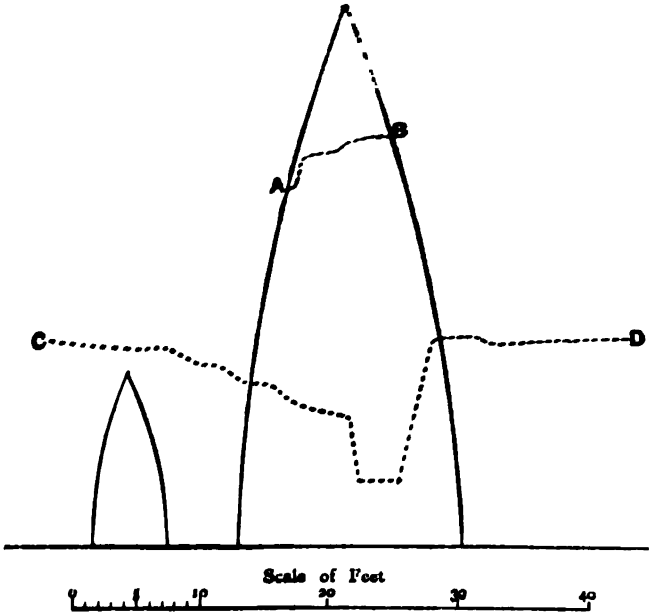
worship towards the stars which had figured most prominently in the skies of his fatherland, and which he or his forefathers had learnt to worship there.



THE TWO TOWERS.

The line A B shows the present top of the great tower, and the line C D represents the outline of the walls.

There is an essential difference between the astronomy of Zimbabwe and that of every other ancient civilisation with whose astronomy we are acquainted.[1] Although in all the temples of Mashonaland there are so many instances of stars being observed on the meridian, there is no single instance of their being observed on the horizon. It is true that the great temple is not in a very suitable position for observing stars on the horizon, for the hills around are high and rugged; but such observations could easily have been made from the temple on the hill, and there is no sign that they were made. Besides, the

[1] With perhaps the exception of the Pyramids of Egypt, where the entrances always point in the direction of the meridian.

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great temple seems to have been placed in its actual position in order to observe stars on the meridian, and to have a long meridian line accurately marked off by the great stone; so that its very position affords a strong presumption that an observation of stars on the horizon was not thought of and was disregarded.

The temples of Egypt tell us a very different story: and, we find that they were nearly all, if not quite all, oriented to some star on the horizon, and often to zodiacal stars. One of their objects in doing this, or at least it came to be one of the uses of the temples, was to watch the progress of the sun in his path among the stars, and thus to regulate their festivals and calendar, and so be able to predict the rise of the Nile. Some of their temples were oriented to stars which rose pretty far north, but the star is always observed on the horizon. Mr. Norman Lockyer, who has made a careful study of Egyptian astronomy, has assured me that he knows of no observation of stars other than on the horizon. It is true that they did attach some mythological notions to circumpolar stars which did not set in Egypt, but they never seem to have observed their motions.

It is generally supposed that the Chaldeans first mapped out the Zodiac, and gave its signs the names with which we are familiar; and there is every reason to believe that their methods of astronomical observation closely resembled those of the Egyptians, and that their most important, if not their only observations of stars, were made on the horizon.

Little or nothing remains to us of the astronomy of the Phœnicians, but we know that they were always much influenced in their arts by the nations which surrounded them, especially by Chaldea and Egypt, and even if they had invented some system of meridian observation of their own, they would not have neglected the useful observation of zodiacal and other stars practised by these peoples.

The ancient inhabitants of India also observed the risings of zodiacal stars, and seem to have arrived independently at a similar sub-division of the zodiac to that used by the Egyptians.

The Chinese, at a very early period, were accurate astronomers; but there is other evidence which excludes them from our present enquiry, and the only people we know of who may have used the astronomical methods of Zimbabwe

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are the early inhabitants of South Arabia: and, at a very early period, indeed, they were a highly civilised people.

We might also infer that the temple builders came from a country with a broken horizon, and a hilly country, where mountain tops could conveniently be used for directing meridian lines. South Arabia is, I believe, such a country.

There is another curious feature in the Zimbabwe temple, and that is the intermingling in their architectural expression of the three cults practised there. In most ancient religions each temple was appropriated to one particular cult, and no one temple was oriented to more than one of the heavenly bodies. But it is not so at Zimbabwe, for there we find that the sun was observed and had reverence paid to it, as is evident from the decorations on the walls of the temples; and as only northern stars were observed, it is a fair presumption that ideas of worship were attached to some of them. Yet we find that they were observed from this temple which was dedicated to solar worship, and from the very centre of the arc where the solar altar probably stood, and culminating over the great stone which was probably a symbol of the other cult. The great tower, the most important symbol of nature worship in the temple, is decorated with a pattern indicative of worship of the sun, and from this tower radiate two lines of sight for the observation of stars. The embodiment of the ratio of circumference to diameter in the plan of the temple, seems to have had an occult meaning in the form of nature worship which was practised there, and the sun and stars were observed from the centres of arcs which expressed this ratio. In all this we have a curious and unique intermingling of the three cults, the worship of the sun, of the stars, and of the principles of creation.

Let us now briefly consider the objects found in our excavations, of which, perhaps, the most important are those made of soapstone, and of these the birds on pedestals are the most striking. They seem to represent vultures which were regarded by the ancient Egyptians and some other peoples as symbolical of maternity. There is nothing about these vultures which gives us any ethnological clue in the present state of our knowledge. All we can say is, that they are more conventional in their artistic style than the reliefs carved on the bowls, and are probably not of the same period of art.

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The decorated bowls are of two classes—those with geometric decorations, which are extremely well done, and those with animals and one human figure, which are extremely barbarous in style.

The fragment of an inscription, if lettering it be, on the edge of a bowl would be more interesting, could we find any parallel to it elsewhere. It is true that Mr. A. A. Anderson showed an inscription which resembles this in character, and which he obtained from a rock in the Transvaal, but little more can be made of this than of the one we found at Zimbabwe.

The clay crucibles for melting gold are interesting, but only from a metallurgical point of view.

The object shaped liked a cheese with knobs all over is interesting, and a striking parallel has been found to it by Mr. Hogarth in the island of Cyprus. He has no doubt that it is Phœnician.

The ingot mould finds a curious parallel in an ingot of tin which was fished up from Falmouth harbour, and which Sir John Evans told you of here a fortnight ago, and which is Phœnician.

The little clay discs were probably, as I have already said, meant to represent the sun's disc, and may have corresponded to those images of the solar disc which are mentioned as having been kept in Phœnician temples.

The pottery is more interesting, and some of it is very fine. One incised piece is equal in artistic merit to Greek pottery of the best period, but the designs are always geometric only. There is hardly a doubt that the pottery as well as the soapstone objects are made of material got on the spot.

On one of the soapstone objects a winged disc is carved in relief. When this is accompanied by a crescent holding another disc between its horns, according to MM. Perrot and Chipiez, the object so marked may be put down as certainly Phœnician. In the case before us the crescent and the second disc are wanting, but there is little reason to doubt that this winged disc is Phœnician.

Now, among all the objects found there are hardly any which may not be Phœnician, and some which very probably are Phœnician; and most of these things, it can be shown, were not imported articles, but were made on the spot, so that it seems extremely probable that the Phœnicians had been at Zimbabwe, and had remained there a considerable time—in fact, had settled

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there. But none of the objects were found in a position which would with certainty associate them with the original temple, and none of them were found under the ruins of walls of the first period, so that there is really nothing to definitely connect them with the time of the original temple builders.

The mathematical construction, which I have described, applies only to the walls which are darkly shaded in the plan, and does not apply to the western part of the outer wall. Before any idea of the method of the plan had suggested itself, we had come to the conclusion that the western wall was more modern than the other part, for it is of much poorer workmanship; and its end at the gap near the main doorway does not correspond in direction with the end of the undoubtedly original wall. We, therefore, assume that this wall was not built by the builders of the original temple, and it seems probable that it may have been built by the Phœnicians.

Let us consider what were the essential features of Phœnician masonry, and I cannot do better than repeat what MM. Perrot and Chipiez say in their great work on Phœnician art. They tell us that in Greek masonry (and we may add, in Zimbabwe masonry) each stone had its own particular duty to perform in the whole of which it formed part, and that at an early time it was felt to be unnatural and illogical to force one stone to do duty for several. In Phœnicia, on the contrary, the stones do not range themselves in accordance with this idea. The Phœnicians used the stone as it came from the quarry, and did not care to break up great stones, but they built them into the wall, surrounding them by smaller stones. In their primitive time at least, level courses of masonry were unknown among them, and it was only after they were influenced by the architecture of their neighbouring peoples that we find they sometimes ranged their stones in level courses.

The Phœnician style of building is directly opposed to that of Zimbabwe, and we know of no ancient people whose style of masonry was less like that of Zimbabwe. Their temples at Hagiar Kim in Malta, which have been quoted as parallels to Zimbabwe, are not parallels at all.[1] We may safely

[1] These Maltese remains and the Sardinian nuraghs are quite unlike anything else that is Phœnician. I would suggest that the temples at Hagiar Kim, which seem to have had altars placed at the centres of arcs, as at Zimbabwe, and the nuraghs, which like the temples at Hagiar Kim, were built of unhewn dry stones—stones, however, of most unequal size and

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conclude that they did not build the great temple, but that they re-built the western, and some other walls in careful imitation of their originals, seems very probable.

Let us glance at what we can gather of the early history of Arabia.

Herodotus tells us that about six centuries before our era Pharaoh Necho sent an expedition, composed of Phœnician ships, to circumnavigate Africa, and that they succeeded in accomplishing their mission. This story of Herodotus has been much doubted, but the discovery of the Zimbabwe temples has, at least, strongly supported it, and there is now little reason to doubt its substantial truth. Before this expedition was projected, the Phœnicians must have been familiar with the coast of Africa pretty far south, and probably they had doubled its southern point before they equipped a fully provisioned fleet for this most adventurous voyage. It seems probable that they would explore the coasts as they gradually extended their discoveries southwards, and the natives of the Sofala Coast would barter gold with the strangers as they do now. The Phœnicians would follow the gold producers inland, and might re-discover Zimbabwe, and, recognising a temple dedicated to a worship which they also practised, they would repair it, and imitate, as nearly as they knew how, the plans of the original builders; for even then the temple seems to have been in ruins and, at least, centuries old.

Queen Hatasou, of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, in the seventeenth century before Christ, sent an expedition against the land of Pount and conquered it, and this land of Pount is now generally believed to have been South Arabia. On the monuments at Deir-el-Bahari these conquered people are depicted as sending in tribute, ebony, ostrich feathers, leopards, giraffes, lions, cyno-cephalous apes, elephants' tusks, and ingots of gold; and all these things are products of South-eastern Africa. Pount or Sabea, in Solomon's day, was rich in similar products, and then the people of that country seem to have trafficked with the Phœnician ships.

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which were not ranged in regular courses—were built by the Phœnicians in poor imitation of the Mashonaland temples, after they had seen Zimbabwe. These nuraghs and temples are such buildings as might have been made by people who had been impressed by the more obvious features of the temples of Mashonaland, but who did not observe the mathematical construction of the plans of these temples.

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Herr Edward Glaser has studied early Arabian history and geography more closely than any one else, and he claims to have deciphered many of the inscriptions found by Hommel, Halévy, and others. He arrives at the conclusion that the South Arabians had an alphabet earlier than the Phœnicians, and finds in this alphabet what philologists had long searched for—the original form of the Phœnician alphabet. He tells us of a Minæan kingdom which preceded that of Sheba. Classical writers mention a Minæan people, but not a kingdom of that name, and this may be accounted for on the supposition that the Sabeans had succeeded the Minæans in power before classical writers knew the country.

Herr Glaser claims to have already discovered the names of thirty-three Minæan kings. The Makarib or high priests, preceded the kings; and South Arabia appears to have been originally governed by a theocracy, of which we may fancy a representative in Jethro.

If we accept what he says the Minæans seem to have been a highly civilised and industrious people, and much addicted to navigation and maritime commerce, and it seems probable that they were the builders of Zimbabwe. When they built it, it is difficult to say, but it was probably before the time of Solomon; for it is improbable that the story of the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Jerusalem is a later invention, and we must accept it as a fact, and assume that before that time the Sabeans had succeeded the Minæans.

The Sabean dominion seems to have succeeded that of the Minæan, and the Sabeans seem to have adopted Minæan history as their own, and handed it down in their traditions. To all Arabians after the time of Solomon, that monarch—the greatest of their race—figured as the great king and the great magician, and numerous legends clustered around his name. Many of these legends connect him and Belkis, the Queen of Sheba, with the Sofala coast. The name Sofala is probably identical with the "Sophirah" of the Septuagint—the Ophir of our version—and this name was in common use for this coast at least as early as the tenth century of our era, when el Masoudi wrote his "Golden Meadows;" and we may suppose that it indicates a belief among the Arabs at an early period—a belief probably founded on tradition—that this was the country from which South Arabia had derived her wealth.

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We have shown that the masonry of Zimbabwe is certainly not Phœnician in style, and most certainly the plans of the temples are not constructed on a Phœnician design; for had the Phœnicians ever constructed buildings on the mathematical principles embodied in the temples at Zimbabwe, and in all the buildings of the original period in Mashonaland, we should, undoubtedly, have found traces of such construction in what remains to us of their architecture, however little it may be: and I have searched in vain in plans of Sardinian Nuraghs, of Maltese ruins, and North African and Syrian remains, for such a style of building.

We have also shown that the methods of astronomical observation used at Zimbabwe are not those of any ancient nation with whose astronomy we are acquainted, but that they would be methods suitable to the people of a mountainous country, such as South Arabia is; and, I am unable to suggest any other country from which the builders of Zimbabwe—a people practising three common Semitic cults—can have come.

The western wall of the great temple and some minor walls must have been re-built by a civilised people, and by a people of a similar religion to that of the original builders. The objects found at Zimbabwe are all, or nearly all, Phœnician in character; so it is a fair assumption that the Phœnicians had settled at Zimbabwe and re-built the western wall, made the religious symbols which we found, and continued the original worship of the place—a worship which was identical with their own.

When they were at Zimbabwe it is difficult to say, but the most probable period is about five or six centuries before our era, when Phœnicia was most flourishing, and when, as Herodotus tells us, Phœnician ships sailed round Africa.

The original builders must, of course, have preceded them, and they were probably the ancestors of the people who brought tribute to Queen Hatasou in South African products about seventeen centuries, B.C.

We are hopeful that evidence will yet be produced to put all these points beyond a doubt. This evidence might most easily be got in the mother country, and when South Arabia has been explored and similar temples have been found, the mathematical system of architecture of Zimbabwe will be as certain a guide and as conclusive an indication of community of origin as a

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lettered inscription itself. But, in the meantime, South Arabia is in so unsettled a state that it is practically impossible to conduct researches there with any hopes of success, and so we must try to get more information from Mashonaland itself. It is incredible that the people of Zimbabwe attained to the knowledge which we have shown they possessed without the art of writing, and they must have left inscriptions behind them. We only spent two months at Zimbabwe, and much of that time was lost through fever. We did all that we could in the limited time at our disposal, but our finds were comparatively meagre. A great mass of fallen walls remains undisturbed in the interior of the great temple, and this we could not attack at all, and under this it is likely that many interesting and instructive objects exist; for it is probable that some of this debris has remained undisturbed since the days of the first builders, as more recent walls are founded on it.

But even were no inscription nor other important object found under this debris, we would surely discover the plan of some of the interior arrangements of the temple, and this itself might teach us much about the people who designed it.

Let us hope that some public spirited body will enable this to be done.

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NOTE.

Considering the uncertainty of the relation which the objects found in the excavations made at Zimbabwe bear to the original temples of Mashonaland, and the difficulty of arriving at any definite conclusion from them, it seems that the best clue to the builders of these temples will be obtained by comparing their architectural style, and more especially the geometrical construction of their plans, with the plans of buildings in other lands. A comparative study of the primitive geometry of various ancient races, and of the manner in which they expressed their geometrical ideas in the plans of their religious edifices, may yield us some interesting results, which may be of value in comparative anthropology.

In a paper on the *Sulvasutras*, which Professor Thibaut read to a meeting of the Second International Congress of Orientalists, he remarks on the geometrical construction of some very early Hindu altars which are described in these ancient Brahminical books. An important feature of these altars seems to have been the areas of their bases and upper surfaces, and also the positions in which they were placed. Numerous rules are given in the *Sulvasutras* for the measurement of the areas of different geometrical figures, and for the construction of other figures of similar area, and from the way in which this is done it is evident that the early Hindus had a considerable knowledge of geometry. They knew, for instance, long before Euclid's day, the properties of the right-angled triangle which are dealt with in Euclid's celebrated proposition (Book I., prop. 47). In their religious constructions it was often considered necessary to convert squares into circles of equal areas and *vice versa*, and a fairly successful attempt had been made to square the circle geometrically. All their operations are performed in a geometrical rather than in a mathematical manner.

The best known geometrically planned buildings are of course the Pyramids of Egypt, and above all the three larger Pyramids of Gizeh, and, if we alter the forms of the bases of these latter while preserving their area, we seem to obtain the dimension of the Pyramids (which was laid down in a round number of units of measure), and to connect them in the nature of their religious symbolism with the temples of Mashonaland, and in the method of their design with the early Brahmin altars.

The length of the cubit deduced from the mean of Mr. Flinders Petrie's measurements of the King's Chamber in the Great Pyramid is 20·609 inches. Now this cubit does not divide a round number of times into either the length, or the vertical or inclined heights, of any one of the three greater Pyramids of Gizeh; and it seems natural to suppose that buildings such as these, which did not serve a merely utilitarian purpose, should have at least one of their dimensions laid down in a round number of units of measure. The principal dimensions of buildings given in the Old Testament and by classical authors are always in round numbers, and none such can be directly obtained from measurement of these pyramids.

But if we make a circle of 500 cubits (of 20·609 inches) diameter, its area will be equal to the area of the base of the Great Pyramid, taking the mean of Mr. Flinders Petrie's measure-

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ments at the level of the corner sockets. The area of a horizontal section at the level of the pavement will be somewhat less, but it seems likely that the dimension of the Pyramid first laid out was at the ground level, as we find was constantly done at Zimbabwe.

Now, if the Great Pyramid was designed in this way, we should find evidences of a similar design in other pyramids of a similar period, and which were presumably constructed to serve a similar purpose. If we make a circle of 1000 spans (of 9·563 inches) diameter (this proportion of the cubit to the span—20·609 to 9·563—seems to have been about the mean of that on most other ancient Egyptian monuments) its area will be equal to that of the base of the Second Pyramid of Gizeh.

Similarly, if we make a circle of 500 spans diameter its area will be equal to that of the base of the Third Pyramid of Gizeh, if it is measured 50½ inches lower than where Mr. Flinders Petrie made his measurements, and where those of Colonel Howard Vyse seem to have been made. Mr. Flinders Petrie remarks that his measurement was made two cubits above the probable original base.

The numbers, 500, 1000 and 500, are sufficiently round ones, and it seems probable that the plans of these Pyramids were thus derived from circles, and thus they would seem to be connected in the nature of their geometry with Zimbabwe. Besides there are other points of similarity in these two widely separated classes of buildings, as for instance in the direction of the doorways or entrances, and in the importance apparently attached to the centres of the circular curves. The degree of accuracy in the orientation of the Pyramids and Zimbabwe is perhaps about the same, but I hope to ascertain the exact error at Zimbabwe when I revisit it, which I am now about to do.

From these points of similarity we do not seek to argue a community of origin in the builders of Zimbabwe and the Pyramids, nor in the writers of the *Sulvasutras*, but it does seem probable that there must have been some intercourse between these ancient peoples, and the early navigators of Southern Arabia were perhaps the connecting link between Egypt, India, and South Africa.

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No. XIV.

ANNUAL EXCURSIONS OF THE SOCIETY

FOR 1891 AND 1892.

1891.

THE Excursion took place on Tuesday, 8th September, the day's programme including Lochleven, Tullibole, and Aldie Castles. Among those present were:—John Honeyman, F.R.I.B.A., President of the Society, J. W. Shand-Harvey of Castle Semple, Drs. Mackinlay and Henderson, J. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., F.R.S.E., Hon. Secretary, Campbell Douglas, F.R.I.B.A., D. Corse Glen, F.G.S., Peter Sturrock of Baltersan, late M.P. for the Kilmarnock Burghs, W. F. Salmon, F.R.I.B.A., F. W. Allan, John Mann, C.A., Robert Blyth, C.A., Alexander Drew, James Caldwell, F.S.A. Scot., Archibald Brownlie of Monkcastle, A. B. Dick-Cleland of Ravenswood, David Robertson, J. Macdonald, D. S. Miller, Hew Mackenzie, William Stevenson, George A. Ure, W. Anderson Baillie, Walter E. Wingate, Joseph Shaughnessy, Robert Frame, J. Edmiston, C. E. Whitelaw, J. W. Ruddock, etc. Leaving Queen Street at 9.15 a.m., the Society, on arriving at Kinross, were met by Mr. R. Burns Begg, F.S.A. Scot., and Mr. Henderson of Turfhills, Honorary Sheriff-Substitute of Kinross-shire. Driving first to Kinross House, they were conducted over the edifice of Mr. Burns Begg, who read a short note on its history as follows:—

There is very little to be told in connection with Kinross House, as there are no historical or other associations of public interest attached to it. Its chief attractions are its architectural features and the ingenuity and taste with which the grounds have been designed and planted. The house was built by Sir William Bruce, the architect to Charles II., the designer of the modern portions of Holyrood Palace. Sir William purchased the estate of Lochleven from the Earl of Morton, a descendant of Sir William Douglas, who acted as custodian of Queen Mary during her year's captivity in Lochleven Castle. At the time Sir William Bruce purchased the estate, the country was much

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agitated by the strong Roman Catholic tendencies of the Duke of York, the heir to the Crown, and an effort was being made in Parliament to compel him to reside not less than 200 miles from the capital, and this fact has led to the belief that the house was originally planned as a residence for the Duke. There may be good foundation for this belief, and certainly the house and grounds are much more extensive than the size of the estate warranted. It is clear, however, that the prospective residence of royalty, if it ever was entertained, must have been abandoned before the building was commenced, for the Duke had by that time become James VII. The present house superseded a more ancient structure called the New House of Lochleven, which, in the reign of Queen Mary, stood close to the shore of Lochleven, immediately beyond the present north wall of the garden. This house was demolished in 1723, and is described by Sir Robert Sibbald as "a neat manour." During Queen Mary's imprisonment it formed the residence of old Lady Douglas and her younger children, while Sir William, her eldest son—the "Laird of Lochleven," and his wife and family, occupied the Castle itself. Immediately in front of the little arched gateway, opening out to the loch at the back of Kinross House, is the spot where Queen Mary landed on the evening of her escape; and the stables from which George Douglas stole his brother's best horse to facilitate the escape of his brother's captive, were situated little more than a hundred yards to the north-east of the landing place.

Leaving Kinross House, the party proceeded in boats across the loch to the ruins of Lochleven Castle. These were carefully examined under the guidance of Mr. Burns Begg, who described the arrangements of the various buildings, and read the following account of the history of the Castle:—

The origin of Lochleven Castle—like the origin of all the ancient strongholds of Scotland—is, owing to its extreme remoteness, involved in impenetrable obscurity. It is believed to have been originally founded by Congal, King of the Picts, whose reign extended from 511 to 535. If this belief is well founded, the original Castle must have been entirely superseded by a much more modern structure. The existing keep or square tower, which within the early years of the present century still retained on its east and west sides its peaked gables, adorned with "crow-steps," is Norman in its character, and is attributed to the 11th or 12th century. From 1124 down-

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wards, it formed the occasional residence of successive occupants of the Scottish throne, and in 1256 the youthful King of Scotland, Alexander III., and his still more youthful Queen, were seized within its walls by the Comyns, and carried prisoners to Stirling, in order to seclude them from the pernicious influence of the King's father-in-law, Henry III. of England. In the early years of the following century the Castle bore its part in the warlike operations of the period. In the beginning of that century it was besieged unsuccessfully by the English, and shortly afterwards, according to Blind Harry, it formed the scene of one of Sir William Wallace's heroic exploits. He states that Wallace, at the head of a few brave followers, effected a landing on the island, and put its English garrison of thirty men to the sword, and wrested the Castle from the hands of the English usurper. In 1356, or about quarter of a century after Wallace's execution, the Castle was again besieged by the English under Sir John Stryvelyne, a renegade Scotsman, who had sworn fealty to the English monarch. In the interest of the Scottish King, David II., it was bravely defended by Sir Allan Vipont, at the head of a band of patriotic Scotsmen. The siege was a determined and prolonged one, enduring for upwards of nine months; and during its progress the English erected a fort in the church-yard of Kinross, which occupied an elevated situation at the point of a promontory jutting into the lake, to the west of the Castle Island. The little garrison within the walls of the Castle was reduced to great straits, but at length on 16th November, 1335, they took advantage of Sir John and the most of the leading men in the English force being absent in Dunfermline at a religious festival on Saint Margaret's Day, and, having made a successful sortie, they captured the English fort, and drove their enemies with great slaughter from their position. After this reverse Sir John resumed the siege with greater vigour than ever, but his efforts were attended with no better success, and he was ultimately compelled altogether to withdraw his forces. One cannot help enjoying the literary chuckle with which Wyntown, the worthy old chronicler of Scotland, leads the discomfited English leader off the stage at last—

> Swa sune owt off the land gat he,
> Wyth a feu grettar schame,
> The he browcht wyth hym fra hame.

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In 1368 the Castle is referred to in the state records as one of the four Royal Castles of Scotland—Lochleven, Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton—which, in consequence of Edward III.'s persistent efforts to subjugate Scotland, were ordered to be at once repaired, garrisoned, and provided with victuals, warlike engines, and all other means necessary for resisting attack. Probably the encircling ramparts and many of the subordinate buildings within the court-yard, were erected under this Royal Commission, and the Castle may then have assumed a form approaching that indicated by the ruins still existing. The ramparts and subordinate buildings are evidently more modern in their construction than the square tower or keep, which, it is clear, must have existed originally as an entirely isolated structure. The walls surrounding the court-yard show indications of their having been altered from time to time with the view of enlarging the space they enclosed. It is evident, too, that the picturesque round tower which projects outwards from the south-east corner of the court-yard, also forms an addition made sometime subsequent to the erection of the ramparts.

The siege of 1335 forms the first occasion on which the noted name of the Douglasses becomes in any way connected with the Castle, one of its prominent defenders during the siege being Sir John Douglas of Dalkeith, believed to be a younger brother of the famous Knight of Liddesdale. Apparently his valour during the siege had identified him and his family in some way with the Castle—for, little more than half-a-century later, we find the then reigning monarch, Robert II., conveying it by charter to Sir John's second son, Sir Henry Douglas, the husband of a niece of the King. Sir Henry thus formed the first of the Douglasses of Lochleven; and to this family the Castle and loch, as well as a very considerable extent of the land surrounding the loch, continued to belong for nearly three centuries, when it was acquired, by purchase, by Sir William Bruce of Kinross, whose successors, about a century later, sold it to the maternal grandfather of the present "Laird of Lochleven," Sir Graham Graham Montgomery.

During the whole time the Castle was vested in the Douglas family, the Crown appears to have retained a right to use the Castle for State purposes; and, from time to time, it formed the prison-house successively of several distinguished persons who had made themselves obnoxious to the supreme

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power of the period. Among these, we have special mention made of the "Steward of Scotland," who afterwards became Robert II.; and also of his son, the notorious "Wolf of Badenoch." We also find mention made of the unfortunate and virtuous Archbishop Graham of St. Andrew's, who died a prisoner within its walls; and its latest prisoner of note was the distinguished refugee, the Earl of Percy, who, after being unjustly detained here for some years, was basely surrendered by the Earl of Morton to his enraged Sovereign, Queen Elizabeth, who caused him to be beheaded at York within a few days afterwards.

These distinguished names diffuse many pathetic associations around these grim old walls; but these associations become dim and obscure when contrasted with the fascinating interest which attached itself to the Castle when viewed in its relation to the most illustrious of all its inmates, Mary Queen of Scots. Her connection with Lochleven Castle was not limited to the long, weary twelvemonth she spent within its walls as a State prisoner. On the contrary, she passed on this little island some of the brightest and happiest, as well as some of the darkest and saddest, days which fell to her lot during her brief seven years' existence within her ancestral kingdom. Within a month after her return from France, we find her repeatedly in the neighbourhood of Lochleven; and, from entries in the State records of the period, she appears as early as 1561 to have had rooms fitted up within the Castle for her own personal use. Miss Strickland, with her usual love for realistic detail, even supplies us with a very full and minute description of the furnishings of her presence-chamber and of her bed-chamber. Two years after her arrival in Scotland, she holds a special conference with the redoubted reformer, John Knox, within the walls of the Castle; and, previous to her ill-judged marriage with Darnley, in 1565, it is clear that it formed not infrequently her favourite resort, owing to the facilities it afforded for the prosecution of her pastime of hawking. To this day, there exists, close to the north shore of the loch, a peculiar mound which still bears the name of "Mary's Knowe," and probably this name has arisen from the frequency with which she was to be seen by the rustic inhabitants of the district seated on horseback on its summit, watching her hawks at work among the herons frequenting the loch. Our interest, however, centres chiefly in the long,

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weary period of eleven months which she passed within the Castle walls as a State prisoner.

Until the recent publication of the contemporary memoir written by Claude Nau, her secretary, little was known of Queen Mary's experiences during this trying period; but, fortunately, we are now in possession of details in regard to that episode of her life as minute as those relating to her experiences in her English prisons, which have long formed part, and a deeply-interesting part, of recorded history. These details, too, derive a very special interest from the fact that they are clearly written by Nau to the dictation of his royal mistress herself; and we have cropping out here and there little indications of personal feeling, and characteristic expressions of personal opinion, which reveal the royal captive in her individual character far more clearly and vividly than do any of the other contemporary records.

Arriving here at an early hour on the morning of Tuesday, 17th June, 1567, in the custody of Lords Lindsay and Ruthven, and Sir William Douglas of Lochleven, she was consigned to poorly-furnished apartments situated on the ground floor—probably the lower room of the round tower in the south-eastern corner of the court-yard. Here she remained for the first month of her imprisonment thoroughly prostrated by serious and alarming illness, occasioned, no doubt, by the mental agony and bodily fatigue she had undergone for some time previously. After her abdication was extorted from her, on 24th July, 1567, she was removed to more spacious rooms in what Nau styles "the great, gloomy tower," and these rooms she continued to occupy down to the date of her romantic deliverance from captivity by little Willie Douglas, on the evening of Sunday, the 1st of May, in the year following. The details furnished by Nau's memoir enable us now, for the first time, to identify, beyond the possibility of doubt, the rooms which Queen Mary occupied after the date of her abdication. These were situated in the third floor of the square tower, or keep, and consisted of a sitting-room, with a bedroom and small closet leading from it. These rooms occupied the whole of the third floor of the tower; and it is interesting to notice that this forms the only portion of the tower where the rugged walls are dignified with an inside coating of plaster, and it is reasonable to conjecture that they may have undergone alteration during the first month of her captivity, in order to modernise them,

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and render them more suitable for the permanent occupancy of so important an inmate. The rooms above the Queen's apartments were occupied by the Queen's private physician; while the large room immediately under her apartments formed the dining-hall of the Castle. Nor are these the only circumstances which Nau's memoir now enables us to localise. He enables us, also, to localise many of the incidents of her escape. Thanks to him, we can now point out the garden where the Queen, accompanied by old Lady Douglas, paced her weary round, on that still Sabbath evening, beguiling the time till the hour arrived for her escape, and, with all her woman's wit and ingenuity, striving to distract the old lady's suspicion by engaging her in a heated discussion as to the merits of her favourite son, the Regent Moray. We can also identify the window in the tower from which Sir William Douglas discovered his youthful protégé, Willie Douglas, in the act of tampering with the chains of the only spare boat, so as to prevent the possibility of immediate pursuit—a discovery which would have inevitably led to a disclosure of the whole plot if the Queen had not diverted Sir William's thoughts by pretended faintness, which compelled him to rush out of the room in order to bring her some wine. We can trace out the corridor along which the Queen and her attendant stealthily passed in order to reach the stair leading down to the court-yard. We can almost identify the very spot in the outward stair where she shrank back aghast at the prospect of having to pass through the midst of several of the servants, who were passing and re-passing in the court-yard, engaged in serving supper to Sir William and his household; and we can also point out the part of the rampart under whose friendly shelter the Queen lurked for a few brief, anxious minutes while Willie got the boat ready; we can look across the stretch of water through which they anxiously rowed their way to the opposite shore; and we can view the very spot where a landing was safely effected, and from which she gaily rode off on her journey southwards, surrounded by Lord Seaton, Beaton, George Douglas, and her other chivalrous adherents, and buoyed up with a hope which was sadly at variance with the doom ultimately awaiting her.

Twenty years after the escape of Queen Mary, the estate of Lochleven became merged in the Morton estates, owing to Sir William Douglas having succeeded to that Earldom after the execution of the Regent Morton, and

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the subsequent death of his nephew and successor, the Earl of Angus. The Castle thereafter became, more or less, neglected; and, in course of time, it fell into disrepair, and became uninhabitable. The present proprietor has done his utmost to preserve it from becoming more dilapidated, and he has incurred, from time to time, considerable expense in endeavouring to maintain this memento of the most interesting episode of our national history.

After lunching in Harris's Hotel, Kinross, the Society drove to Tullibole Castle, a fine specimen of the castellated architecture of Scotland in the early part of the seventeenth century. Here the members were received by Mr. J. Balfour Paul, Lyon King of Arms, the present tenant of the Castle, who described its characteristic features, and gave a short account of its history.

The existing Castle of Tullibole dates from 1608, but there was probably some sort of house on the site long previous to that date, as there are in the Record Office in London letters patent of Edward I., dated from Tullibothville, 20th April, 1304, granting to Gilbert Melherbe all the goods of William Oliphant and the garrison of Stirling Castle, then in arms against him. It is supposed that Tullibothville here mentioned is identical with Tullibole, the more so that in the same year there is a memorandum of a writ to be sent in Edward's name to John, Earl of Athole, who was lord of Fossoway and the king's warden between Forth and Orkney, ordering him and the chamberlain to buy or procure, in exchange, a castle in a good place beyond Forth, inasmuch as His Majesty had decided to build one at Tullibothville, but could find no proper site. Be this as it may, however, we find from the evidence of charters, that Tullibole in 1490 belonged to the powerful family of Heron or Heryng of Glaschare, of which barony it formed a part. It remained in possession of the Herons for a considerable time, but probably passed from their hands towards the end of the sixteenth century. The new proprietor was Sir John Halliday, an advocate of repute and of considerable social position. He it was who in 1608 erected the present castle in which he lived till 1619, when he died and was carried to his grave in the neighbouring churchyard with all due ceremonial, an official account of the funeral being still extant. The arms over the door are Halliday, impaled with Oliphant, but the Halliday arms were subsequently altered to something quite different. The Hallidays continued in possession of Tullibole till about

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1740, when it passed into the hands of the Moncrieffs. As the new owner did not wish to live in it, it was unroofed, and it is stated that the roof was sold and carried to an old building—half-castle, half-farmhouse—in Glendevon, where it may still be seen. In 1801, however, Sir Henry Moncrieff, the grandfather of the present Lord Moncrieff of Tullibole, put the house in good repair, and added some finials to the windows. It was a favourite residence both with Sir Henry and his son, the late Lord Moncrieff. At the death of the latter, however, in 1851, the castle was again left tenantless, and it was only in 1885 that the hearth was again re-kindled. Having been kept wind and water tight, its last restoration was comparatively an easy matter, and it now stands as a good specimen of an old Scots mansion, more or less adapted to modern requirements.

The Society were then conducted by Mr. Balfour Paul to the old churchyard of Tullibole, where he pointed out a curious sculptured stone of early Celtic work, which, it is to be hoped, will shortly be transferred to the Antiquarian Museum in Edinburgh, as in its present situation it is suffering from exposure to the weather.

Returning to Tullibole Castle, the members were most hospitably entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Balfour Paul, after which they drove to Aldie Castle, where, after the building had been carefully examined, the following paper on its history was read by Mr. J. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A. Lond. and Scot.:—

The lands of Aldie in early times belonged to the Murrays of Tullibardine, who are said to have acquired them by a royal grant, on condition that a chamber in the castle should ever be kept in readiness, in which the Kings of Scotland when hunting in the adjoining forest might receive shelter and entertainment. Whether this tenure is embodied in the charters of the barony or not, it is curious to note, as supporting the tradition that though the forest has long since disappeared and the castle has fallen into ruins, a room has always been maintained in a habitable state in fulfilment of the legendary condition of the grant.

The first writ of investiture in the lands of which I find mention, is a confirmation dated at Elgin, 7th December, 1361, by King David II., of the grant of Robert, High Steward of Scotland, Earl of Strathearn, to Walter Murray, of Tullibardine, of the barony of Tullibardine, Pitvet, Aldie,

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Dundovan, Glendovane, Glencoty, Nethergasky, and Dalrivach, in the Earldom of Strathearn.

The Murrays at one time possessed considerable territories in the valley of the Devon, their residence being the palace or Castle of Blairingone, in Fossoway Parish. Though at the date of the publication of the New Statistical Account the Glendevon lands had mostly passed out of the hands of their ancient masters, the Duke of Athole was still proprietor of a colliery on the lands of Blairingone, and superior of some of the estates in the district.

By the marriage of Aldia, or Ada, daughter of Walter Murray, of Tullibardine, with John Mercer, in the first half of the fourteenth century, the lands of Aldie became the property of the family with whose name they are so indelibly associated. It has been said that Aldie took its name from that of the bride, but this is evidently not the case, for we have seen that they were possessed by her father under the appellation they still bear. Aldia, or Ada, was a favourite name of the Murrays. It was through a marriage with Aldia, daughter of Malise, Seneschal of Strathearn, that Sir William Murray obtained the barony of Tullibardine, and, in all probability, also the Glendevon lands, conform to charters dated the Thursday preceding the feast of Saints Simon and Jude, 1282, and All Saints' Eve, 1284. If, therefore, the estate takes its name from either of the ladies in whose dowry it was included, it seems more likely that the distinction is due to the latter than to her descendant. It is, however, more probable that Aldie is of Celtic etymology, and is derived from the words *alt dubh*—the dark water.

Mercer is an old name in Scotland, and from a very early date bearers of it were closely connected with the city of Perth. There is an ancient rhyme,

> "So sicker 'tis as anything on earth,
> The Mercers aye are older than old Perth."

Bernard le Mercer, Burgess of Perth, signed the Ragman Roll in 1296.

Thomas Mercer held lands under the Abbey of Scone, and had an order from Edward III. on the Constable of Bordeaux for money due for raising men and horses for service in Aquitaine.

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John Mercer, who married Aldia Murray, was the son of this Thomas Mercer, and was in his day a man of great wealth and influence. Perth was then the capital of Scotland, and besides repeatedly representing it in Parliament, he was Provost of the city in 1357, 1369, and 1374. He was several times sent on embassies, and when the office of Chamberlain was vacant, acted as Receiver of the Revenue. The power and riches of the family are specially shown by the fact that when in 1377 John Mercer, being driven by stress of weather on the coast of England, was captured and imprisoned in Scarborough Castle, his son Andrew, with a fleet fitted out largely at his own expense, cruised off the Yorkshire coast harassing English vessels and taking captive a number of them. This summary course of procedure seems to have brought about the release of the elder Mercer, but not before so much injury to trade had been done that a patriotic London merchant, John Philpot by name, was driven by the supineness of the English Government to despatch at his own expense, armed vessels for the protection of the shipping.

The old motto of the Mercers, "Ye grit pule," meaning the sea, is said to derive its origin from their exploits at this time.

Aldie seems to have been bestowed by Walter Murray on his son-in-law very shortly after the date of his own investiture, for we find that John Mercer had charters of it and Meikleour (an estate which he had shortly before purchased from Mauricius de Cramond) in 1362-64.

He was succeeded by his son Andrew, who is designed "Armiger," in a safe conduct he received on 1st May, 1378, while in 1384 he is described as "knight." On 1st July, 1371, he received a grant of lands in Dalkeith from David, Earl of Strathearn.

In 1385 he was arbiter in a dispute between Robert, Earl of Fife, and John de Logie, and in sealing his award uses as arms a chevron between three stars. These were the bearings of his mother's family, the Murrays, and he probably, according to Mr. Stoddart, carried them with a difference in the tinctures. The arms of the Mercers of Aldie latterly were *Or* on a fesse between three crosses patée in chief *gules*, and a star in base *azure*, three bezants of the first. The bezants are the characteristic Mercer bearing. They are usually held to allude to the possession of wealth acquired in commerce, though Nisbet says they were carried by those who had been in the Holy

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Land, or on account of the holding of honourable and beneficial offices, as Treasurers, Comptrollers, Collectors of Public Taxes and Revenues, etc. As John Mercer was, as has been said, Receiver of Revenue, they may have been adopted on the latter ground. The three crosses patée refer to a Barclay connection, and Sir Andrew Mercer's wife, Janet, is believed to have been of that name. The star, of course, is a relic of the Murray coat formerly borne by him.

Sir Andrew succeeded his father, and dying in 1389, was succeeded by his son, Sir Michael, who married while he was a minor, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir David Stewart, of Durrisdeer.

Dying before 1439, Sir Michael was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Andrew, his second son, Robert, being the ancestor of the Mercers of Ballief, a family which became extinct in 1583.

Sir Andrew had a Crown Charter dated 21st March, 1444-5, erecting the lands of Meikleour into a free barony, and charters of Kilgraston, Pitkeathly, and Lednoch, 26th October, 1451, and Dunbarney, 19th November, 1455. He married Margaret Drummond, and dying in 1473 was succeeded by Sir Laurence, who had a safe conduct to England from Edward IV. on 12th June, 1473, and sat in Parliament as a minor baron in 1481. He married in 1475, Isabel, daughter of Henry Wardlaw, of Torry, and died in 1501. Sir Henry, Sir Laurence's eldest son, succeeded but did not long enjoy the possession of his ancestral domains, being killed at Flodden in 1511. He was succeeded by his son, Sir Laurence, from whom descended Andrew Mercer, of Aldie. Andrew Mercer was father of Sir Laurence Mercer, of Aldie, who married (1) Cecilia, daughter of Sir James Colville, and (2) Christina Bruce, of the house of Carnock. By his first wife he had two sons, John (born 1613) and James (born 1615). In 1642 Sir Laurence and his son John resigned Meikleour to the younger son James. John seems subsequently to have died without issue, as James, on his father's death, succeeded to Aldie. He married in 1648 Jean Stewart, of the house of Grantully, and was created a baronet in 1661. Sir James had three daughters (1) Jean, (2) Grizel, and (3) Helen, who married Laurence Mercer, of Melgins as aftermentioned Jean seems to have died in her father's lifetime, as on his death in 1671 Grizel succeeded to Aldie. In the following year she registered the family arms, erroneously appending

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thereto a crest and motto, the former being a cross patée in lieu of the old crest (which was the head and neck of a stork with a serpent in its mouth), the latter being the words, *Crux Christi nostra corona*, more properly Barclay than Mercer bearings.

The representation of the family in the male line devolved upon the Mercers of Melgins, a branch of the family descended from John Mercer, of Melgins, a younger brother of Andrew Mercer, of Aldie, Sir James's grandfather. John Mercer, of Melgins, who succeeded Sir James, only survived him six months, being in turn succeeded by his son Laurence. The latter (who subsequently assumed the baronetcy) married in 1692 Helen, the youngest daughter of Sir James Mercer, and by her had two children—James, who died without issue in 1720, and Jean, who became heiress to Aldie and Meikleour, and married on 16th August, 1720, Robert Nairne, second son of William, second Lord Nairne.[1]

Robert Nairne came of a distinguished Jacobite stock. His grandfather, the first lord, had been captured by the English with the Earls of Crawford, Marischal, and Leven at Alyth, on 28th August, 1651, and remained a prisoner in the Tower of London during the whole period of the Usurpation. In recognition of his services he had been created a peer, with remainder to his son-in-law, Lord William Murray, and his issue. William, second Lord Nairne, as befitted the grandson of Charlotte de la Tremoille, the heroine of Lathom House, was one of the most active spirits in the civil war of 1715, and being taken prisoner at Preston was sentenced to death, though he was subsequently pardoned.

Robert Nairne, who assumed the name of Mercer on his marriage to the heiress of Aldie, remained true to the traditions of his house, and taking an active part in the rising of 1745, was killed at Culloden.

His eldest son, Colonel William Mercer, succeeded to Aldie, and marrying Margaret Murray, heiress of Pitkeathly, died on 19th January, 1790, leaving three daughters, of whom Jane, the eldest, succeeded to Aldie. She had married on 9th August, 1787, the Hon. George Keith Elphinstone, afterwards

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[1] For a considerable portion of the above information with regard to the Mercer family, I am indebted to J. Balfour Paul, Esq., Lyon King of Arms.—J. D. D.

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Viscount Keith, one of the most distinguished of modern naval commanders, by whom she had two daughters. Margaret Mercer Elphinstone, the elder of them, succeeded to Aldie on her mother's death, 12th December, 1789, and subsequently to no less than three peerages—the baronies of Keith of Banheath in the peerage of the United Kingdom, and Keith of Stonehaven Marischal in the peerage of Ireland, on the death of her father, 10th March, 1823; and the barony of Nairne in the peerage of Scotland, on the death of her kinsman, William, Lord Nairne, on 7th December, 1837. The Baroness Keith and Nairne had married on 13th July, 1817 (to the great annoyance of her grim old father, who had fought with the French too often to look with favour on such a connection) Auguste Charles Joseph, Count de Flahaut de la Billarderie, sometime French Ambassador to the court of St. James, by whom she had an only child, Emily Jane Mercer Elphinstone de Flahaut, Baroness Nairne, widow of Henry, fourth Marquis of Lansdowne. This lady is the present proprietrix of Aldie, to which she succeeded on the death of her mother, 11th November, 1867.

There is a legend that a man who had been tried in the Baron Court of Aldie for some minor offence and sentenced to be hanged, invoked as a curse on the house of Mercer, that no laird of Aldie should be succeeded by his son, and it is certainly remarkable how constantly during the last two centuries the lands have gone in the female line, and specially noteworthy that for the last 101 years they have been possessed by three heiresses in direct succession to each other.

No part of the present buildings of Aldie Castle is of any very considerable antiquity. The keep, which is four stories high and measures 35 feet 9 inches from east to west, and 27 feet 4 inches from north to south) dates from about the middle of the 16th century, The ground floor is vaulted, and each of the upper floors contains only a single room. Off the hall on the first floor is a chamber in the thickness of the wall, 16 feet long. The turrets are of a late type. The buildings to the south were probably added about 1590 by Sir Laurence Mercer, whose arms are cut over the entrance doorway. The original entrance to the castle was at the west end of the south wall, and communicated with the upper floors by a wheel stair. The small open courtyard in the later building is an unusual feature. Off it

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enters the kitchen, there having been no kitchen in the original keep. On the first floor is the drawing-room. The edifice was inhabited up till a late period.

From Aldie Castle the Society drove to Rumbling Bridge, where, after inspecting the picturesque glen, the old bridge, and the newly-discovered cave, the members dined together in Rumbling Bridge Hotel, under the presidency of Mr. Honeyman, returning to Glasgow later in the evening. The weather was unfortunately extremely wet and disagreeable, but, despite this, the excursion was thoroughly enjoyed by all who took part in it.

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1892.

THE Excursion took place on Tuesday, 13th September, when the Society paid a visit to Peebles, Neidpath Castle, and Traquair House. Among the members present were:—John Honeyman, F.R.I.B.A., President of the Society, Peter Sturrock, of Baltersan, late M.P. for the Kilmarnock Burghs, D. Corse Glen, F.G.S., J. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., Hon. Secretary, Drs. Mackinlay and Henderson, Principal Dyer, Campbell Douglas, F.R.I.B.A., James Caldwell, F.S.A. Scot., W. F. Salmon, F.R.I.B.A., Robert Blyth, C.A., Alexander Drew, Henry Grierson, John Mann, C.A., Archibald Brownlie, of Monkcastle, F. W. Allan, David Robertson, A. B. Dick-Cleland, of Ravenswood, D. S. Miller, Hew Mackenzie, William Stevenson, Robert Frame, C. E. Whitelaw, Alexander Macdonald, George A. Ure, Walter E. Wingate, W. Anderson Baillie, J. Edmiston, Joseph Shaughnessy, G. W. Ruddock, etc. On arriving at Peebles, they were met and welcomed by Professor Veitch, LL.D., Ex-President of the Society, Mr. William Buchan, Town-Clerk of Peebles, and Mr. A. Smyth, Editor of the *Peeblesshire Advertiser*. Conveyances were in waiting to convey the party to Neidpath Castle, where, after a careful examination of the old keep and its outworks, the following paper on its history was read by Professor Veitch:—

Neidpath Castle—a square, massive, and imposing structure—stands on a somewhat steep and rocky bank of the river, where it winds through a defile unusually narrow for the valley of the Tweed. The castle and its picturesque wooded surroundings have frequently formed a subject for the artist. The oldest drawing of the castle known to me is that by F. Jukes—engraved by Walker, Edinburgh—towards the close of last century. It represents the western aspect. Of the name Neidpath, two etymologies have been advanced. (1) British *nyddu*, to turn. This would give the winding-path—very appropriate to the place. (2) The Danish *Nöd*, meaning nolt or neat cattle, from this it would mean a path or road for cattle (*Chambers*, pp. 58-59).

This castle, though certainly of older foundation, comes into prominence in documents as a residence of the Hays, Lords of Yester, hereditary sheriffs of Peeblesshire, in the 15th century. It is afterwards, in 1563, spoken of as

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a strong house, and doubtless presented, even then, the general outward appearance which it does now; although, I think certain changes were made in the interior, and on the roof and bartizan, in the 17th century. It is in the form of the letter L—according to the classification of Mr. MacGibbon—but this does not prove, as seems to me, that the castle was all built at the same time. Messrs. MacGibbon & Ross, in their *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, regard it apparently as having been built at one time, and according to the L plan, and they refer the construction to the 14th century. It would seem at first sight—and the view has been maintained—that there are at least *two* separate towers and styles traceable in the building. (1) There is the old simple square peel to the west. (2) There is the massive front to the east. The eastern part, we know for certain, underwent considerable changes in the 17th century, which we can fairly trace. To these I shall by-and-by refer. We have no record of the date of erection of the castle, or of any part of it. But the western tower has been generally held to be the oldest portion, and to have been once an independent keep. It certainly presents features different from those of the large massive eastern portion. (1) Its walls are considerably thinner, being hardly more than from 5 to 6 feet in thickness, while those of the eastern portion are from 8 to 11 feet. (2) Each compartment in the western tower has been vaulted, and there is no sign of these compartments having been divided by wooden floors, as in the eastern portion. (3) There is some difference in the shapes and lintels of the windows. Then the only part of the castle which shows a perpendicular drain inside the wall is the western tower. It might be argued that this showed that the western tower was built first, and that the eastern had been fitted on to it, so as to utilise the wall drain. But on the other hand, it might be said that the existence of this drain in the western tower implied that the whole had been built at once, and that this was the common drain of the castle.

Then there is no appearance now of any stair or staircase in the western portion. The three or four compartments, all vaulted, do not seem to have had any connection in this way, but only from a door or doors in the stair between the eastern and western portions. The description of the division of the castle given in *Castellated and Domestic Architecture* is as follows:—"The "tower was divided into two principal compartments in its height (Fig. 152., p.

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"188) by a vault. There was also a vault near the level of the parapet, and "probably another vault carried the roof, each of the principal compartments "being subdivided into two storeys, with wooden floors. The great hall was "on the second floor immediately above the central vault, and was 40 feet in "length by 21 feet 6 inches in breadth." This applies only to the front or eastern part—not at all to the western tower—which consists of at least three stories each of which is heavily vaulted, and which do not correspond to the divisions of the front or eastern building. On the whole, I am inclined to the view that the western tower was the older and original part of the building, and that the massive eastern part was added somewhat later in the 14th century. But I do not wish to be held as meanwhile giving a decided opinion on this point. The apparent absence of a stair, or internal means of communication between the successive storeys in the eastern or ruinous part, seems to me to be the strongest point in support of the view that the eastern and western portions were contemporaneous.

Curiously enough, Neidpath seems to have escaped destruction in the Border wars—at least, I can find no notice of its having been destroyed or dismantled. Passing over several centuries, we come down to the time of Cromwell. The representative of the Hays at this time was the first Earl of Tweeddale (1646-1654). He seems to have been infirm, and there ruled for him his son John, Lord Yester, a man of great force of character. He married Jean Scott, a daughter of the first Earl of Buccleuch. Lord Yester was a staunch loyalist, and fortified Neidpath Castle against Cromwell. A general of Cromwell's was sent to siege the castle. He planted his cannon on the commanding summit of the hill on the south side of the river, attacked the western tower, thinnest in wall, and believed to be oldest in masonry, and so broke it down. The results of the bombardment are visible to this day. We are told, however, that Neidpath Castle stood out longer against Cromwell's forces than any fortress south of the Forth. The battered tower you may now see, very much as it was left after the assault, except that it is partly covered over with a slate roof in the middle, after a modern fashion.

This Lord Yester succeeded his father as second Earl of Tweeddale in 1654. He was a favourite statesman of Charles II.; became Lord Chancellor of Scotland and first Marquis of Tweeddale. Apparently he had thought the

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old castle not quite suited to the requirements of the more modern life and civilisation. Also, no doubt, the whole roof had been damaged as well as the walls and roof of the western tower. He thus set about repairing and modernising the eastern portion, leaving the old and western tower very much as the cannon had left it. He evidently put on a new roof, making also various changes on the parapet and battlements. He cut a doorway through 11 feet of massive masonry forming the eastern wall, made thus a new entrance, and cut a staircase out of the thickness of the wall leading up to the hall, and even higher. Formerly the only entrance had been on the south side, and a special staircase then led to the top of the castle. A square courtyard was formed, a wall built round it, and a gateway constructed in the eastern side. In the front of this appears the Tweeddale crest—a goat's head erased, with a bunch of strawberries below, apparently for Fraser. In the Tweeddale shield itself, the *first* and *fourth* quartering has each "3 cinquefoils," for Fraser. (Lovat, I may mention, has for crest a *buck's* head, on first and fourth quarterings "3 cinquefoils." Elphinstone bears 3 *frases*).

Within the courtyard wall, certain stables and dwellings for retainers were built. The kitchen on the south side, which was connected with the original south door by a slated roof, now gone, is evidently much older than the other surrounding buildings, and the portion of the wall on which it stands is also of older character, showing plainly what we might have expected, that there was an earlier barmkyn wall, enclosing a courtyard.

There were then constructed and arranged those terraced gardens on the south declivity, sloping to the Tweed, which were once and for long bright with flowers and strawberry blossom, now long ago abandoned to hill-grass and sheep. We have still the boat-pool, a deep eddying turn of the water beneath the grey rock, across which Hays, and subsequently Douglases, were ferried to their pleasure grounds on the south side of the river—the south parks of Neidpath—where still the old and stately lines of trees gird the paths where lords and ladies, now utterly unknown and forgotten, used to take their summer evening walks, perhaps to carry on their flirtations, perhaps to go hand in hand with a lover, perhaps to feel something of the power that lay in long stretches of river, and golden sunset—who knows! We have one poet, at least, of the family of the Hays. One

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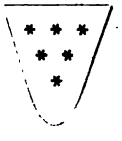
member of the Tweeddale family has an interest for lovers of the old literature of song and ballad. John Hay, tenth Lord Yester, third Earl and second Marquis of Tweeddale, a direct descendant of Mary Fraser (born 1645, died 1713), is the reputed and probable author of one of the earliest of Scottish songs—

> "When Maggie and me were acquaint,
> I carried my noddle fu' hie,
> Nae bint white in a' the gay plain,
> Nae gowds pink sae bonnie as she."

This first Marquis possibly constructed the bowling green to the east, though the yews there known as the Neidpath species *(Taxus Baccata)* are certainly of greatly older origin than the 17th century. The entrance to the grounds and castle was considerably to the east of the present entrance, and known as "The White Yett," with its legend of "The White Leddy of Neidpath," who was not extinct within the last 80 years.

Of the families who have owned Neidpath, we can form a tolerably correct account. Sir Simon Fraser, the hero of Roslin Moor in 1303, was lord of the Barony of Oliver Castle, and apparently Neidpath formed a part of this extensive Barony, stretching, with certain great breaks, from Peebles to Oliver, in the wilds of Tweedmuir. He was also Warden of the Forest of Selkirk, and Sheriff of Peebles. He left the English part finally in 1301. After Roslin, Simon Fraser, the staunch friend of William Wallace, was taken and executed by Edward in 1306.

The name originally was unquestionably *de Frisselle*, or *de Fresel*, constantly pronounced *Frisell* in Tweedside, and the change to Fraser rose from the adoption of the flower of the *fraisse*, strawberry, as the armorial distinction —a plant so abundant in the woods of Neidpath. *Fresel* then became the *fraissier* or strawberry-bearer, as appears in the roll of the Siege of Caerlaverock, under Edward I. in 1300, still, however, retaining the original name, *Simon de Fresel*. The arms are *sable, semée of roses argent*, really the strawberry flowers—



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"Simon de Fresel of that company
Bore black with roses of *silver*."

"Symon Fresel de cete gent
Le ot noire à *rosettes de argent*."
—*Poem of the Roll of Caerlaverock, p. 15.*

I may mention in passing that one of the last notices, if not the last mention of Wallace untaken, was his lurking, apparently in company with Fraser, on the lands of Hepprew, on the Lyne Water, a part of the Barony of Oliver, or, at least, estate of Fraser. And in 1304 Edward despatched a company to seize him there, but failed. In fact, there was a regular fight between the English and Scottish companies, in which the latter were defeated; but Fraser and Wallace escaped. We have also Wallace's Hill, down the Tweed at Cardrona, and Wallace's Trench over on the Catrail line in Yarrow. It was indeed through the aid of Simon Fraser, one of the barons of the country, that Wallace was able to escape the enemy until he was betrayed at Rob-Royston.

Sir Simon Fraser left two daughters. He is said to have left a son, but to have bequeathed the great Barony of Oliver equally between his two daughters. I do not see any proof that he had a son. If he had had, it is extremely improbable he would have been so passed over by his father, and I hold the descent of the Frasers of Lovat and Saltoun from a son of Sir Simon to be a mere myth. I think it is probable that the Fraser of the north did come from a Fraser of Oliver, but only from some cadet of that house, possibly an uncle of Sir Simon. In any case the estates of Sir Simon were divided between two daughters, co-heiresses. One of these, Mary, married Sir Gilbert Hay, of Lochquharret, over at the head of the Tyne Water, about 1320, and carried with her Oliver Castle and Neidpath. The other married Sir Patrick Fleming, of Biggar. Her descendant became Lord Fleming and third Earl of Wigton, in 1606. Fleming and Fraser of Biggar have now passed away from the roll of landed people. The family is represented by Lord Elphinston.

A descendant of Sir Gilbert, Sir William Hay, about 1410, married Joanna Gifford, daughter and heiress of Hugh Gifford, of Yester. But they clearly lived at Neidpath, where the family in hereditary succession discharged the

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And now he is coming to Ettrick Forest,
And landless men ye a' will be."

"And by my troth," James Murray said,
"Wi' that outlaw will I live and dee,
The King has gifted my land lang syne,
It canna be nae warse wi' me."

Sir Walter Scott points out that possibly from the influence of his friends and allies, William Murray of Traquair—he is called "James" in the ballad, but ballad writers did not trouble themselves about such *minima*, as the accuracy of Christian names—though nominally forfeited, retained possession of his land, and Douglas the grantee was afraid to disturb him. This is probably what is referred to in the last stanza of the ballad I have quoted, and may account for our finding the estate very shortly afterwards in the hands of Robert, Lord Boyd. Whether the latter ever took possession of them is uncertain, and on his forfeiture in 1469, they again fell to the Crown.

They were now to pass to a man of a very different type from the rude borderers who had lately held them. The new proprietor was Dr. William Rogers, one of the favourites of James III., who bestowed the lands on him by a charter under the Great Seal, dated 29th November, 1469, wherein it is stated that they were given for faithful services. He seems to have gained the favour of the cultured monarch by his eminence as a musician, though in the charter, he is described as "*scutifero meo familiari.*"

Rogers held Traquair for nine years, and on 19th September, 1478, sold it to James Stewart, Earl of Buchan, at the price of 70 merks Scots—40 merks to be paid at Martinmas, 1478, and the balance eight days before Christmas, 1479. The utter insufficiency of the sum paid as the consideration for the sale of an estate of such extent and importance is only explicable on one of two assumptions, either that owing to the disturbed state of the country and possibly from fear of the Murrays, the poor musician had been unable to obtain active possession of the lands; or that he wished to gain the favour of Buchan. If the latter was his intention he was wofully disappointed as the Earl was one of the foremost of the band of nobles who in 1482, while the King was engaged in an expedition against the English, seized Rogers and the other favourites and hanged them from the Bridge of Lauder.

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Buchan was the son of Lady Jane Beaufort, Queen of James I., by her second marriage with Sir James Stewart, the Black Knight of Lorn. He retained possession of Traquair for thirteen years, and then conveyed it by a charter, dated 18th May, 1491, to his natural son James (who had, however, been legitimated by letters under the Great Seal, on 20th February, 1488-89). James Stewart married Catherine, youngest daughter of Philip Rutherford of Rutherford, for which marriage a papal dispensation was obtained, 9th November, 1505. Being slain at Flodden in 1513, he was succeeded by his son William, who married Christian, daughter of John, second Lord Yester. Of this marriage there were four sons, Robert, John, William, and James, who all successively succeeded to Traquair.

Robert, the eldest son, who first succeeded, died without issue in 1548, when the estates fell to the second son, John. The latter seems to have been a favourite of Darnley's, and was knighted on the occasion of his master's creation as Duke of Albany, 20th July, 1565, a few days before his marriage to Queen Mary. Sir John Stewart was subsequently appointed Captain of the Guard, and in that capacity rendered material assistance in furthering the the Queen's escape from Holyrood in 1566. It was he who was commissioned to arrange with Arthur Erskine to have horses in readiness at an unused door of the palace, and he rode with his royal mistress in her journey to Dunbar, during the course of which she was basely abandoned by her husband.

Shortly afterwards Sir John was the means of effecting a reconciliation between Darnley and Moray, who were at daggers drawn in consequence of an attempt on the part of Darnley to secure the appointment of the Bishop of Ross as Secretary instead of Lethington, whom he imagined to be too much devoted to Moray's interest.

During Sir John Stewart's possession of Traquair the old house was honoured by a visit from Queen Mary, in course of a hunting expedition she made to the Borders, towards the end of August, 1566. Claude Nau mentions that on this occasion, while the royal party was at supper, Darnley, with his usual selfish inconsiderateness, urged the Queen to join in a stag-hunt which was to take place next day. Disregarding the objections which she made on the ground of the condition of her health, he pressed his request with such

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brutality that Sir John was compelled to rebuke him sharply, telling him he did not speak like a Christian.[1]

Sir John died in 1574, and was succeeded by his brother, Sir William, who was one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber to James VI., and in 1582 held the office of governor of Dumbarton Castle.

In 1585, Sir William Stewart of Traquair and his brother, James Stewart of Shillinglaw, complained to the Privy Council that, dwelling on lands on the south side of the Tweed, they were subject to incursions from thieves and broken men who were protected by the Master of Yester. They also set forth "that the said Maister socht the lyfe of the said James Stewart and dailie "shoris and boasts to slay him and all utheris of his friends." The Council interdicted the Lord Yester and the Master from troubling the Stewarts. On the other hand it is maintained by Father Hay in his *Genealogy* that the Stewarts were the thieves' friends, and he states that in 1587 James VI. being desirous of terminating the feud between the two families, came to Neidpath and summoned the Stewarts there, "when they made acknowledgment to "Lord Yester for the wrong they had done him." The extreme bitterness of this feud is all the more remarkable, as the parties to it were first cousins.

James Stewart, the fourth of the sons of William Stewart and Christian Hay (whose life had been so seriously threatened by his kinsman, the Master of Yester), died on 9th May, 1606, and was succeeded by his son John, under whom the family rose into great prominence. He early became a favourite of King Charles I., who appointed him Treasurer General and created him Lord Stewart of Traquair (19th April, 1628), subsequently raising him to the dignity of Earl of Traquair, Lord Linton and Caberston (23rd June, 1633). He married Lady Catherine Carnegie, daughter of David, first Earl of Southesk.

Lord Traquair took an active part in the troubles of the time, and it was undoubtedly owing largely to him that the ill-starred prosecution of Lord Balmerino in 1634 did not end in a serious catastrophe. Balmerino had been put on his trial for seditious libel, the ground of the charge being the part he had taken in revising and handing to Lord Rothes for presentation to the King (whose hands, by the way, it never reached) a Supplication from a

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[1] Nau's *Memoirs*, page 30.

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number of noblemen and other members of the late Parliament, complaining in respectful terms of the manner in which the Lords of the Articles were chosen, it being set forth that, by the arrangement which then prevailed, the bishops had the selection of the Committee in their own hands. When it was ascertained that a majority of the jury were in favour of a conviction, the popular feeling ran so high that it was resolved, in the event of the prisoner being condemned, that the houses of the peccant jurors should be burned and they themselves slain. The gravity of the situation was formally brought under the notice of the King by Lord Traquair, and Balmerino was pardoned.

We next hear of the Earl as a sufferer in the tumult which arose in Edinburgh in 1637, after the Service Book had been introduced and no answer had been returned to the petitions of the Suppliants against it. Certain proclamations were made by the Privy Council which increased the feeling of exasperation, and a riot took place, in course of which, among other acts of violence, Lord Traquair was hustled and thrown down, his wand of office was forcibly taken from him, and without hat or cloak he was carried to the Council House door.

In the conferences between the Privy Council and the representatives of the Tables, *i.e.*, the formally-constituted Committee acting on behalf of the Presbyterian party, Traquair recommended humble submission to the King in the first place, undertaking that the Service Book would thereafter be withdrawn. This proposal the "Tables" would not for a moment entertain, and Traquair proceeded to London to discuss with the King the policy to be adopted. On his return he would not divulge what had been arranged, but eventually stringent instructions were issued that the orders as to the Service Book were to be implicitly obeyed, a most disastrous step as it eventually turned out.

In August, 1639, he was Commissioner at the important General Assembly which formally abolished Episcopacy, and established Presbyterianism. In 1641 he was impeached and, along with the Scots bishops, Sir Robert Spottiswood, Sir John Hay, and Walter Balcanqual, was exempted from the benefits of the Act of Pacification and Oblivion as an incendiary between the king and his people.

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Four years later, when Montrose lay encamped at Philiphaugh, Lord Traquair sent his son, Lord Linton, with a troop of horse to join the royalist forces. For some unexplained reasons the Traquair retainers withdrew during the night; and when, after the battle, Montrose fled across Minchmoor and arrived at Traquair, the Earl and his son both refused to see him.

In contrast with this pusillanimous conduct, he, in 1648, took an active part in the invasion of England to effect the rescue of the king. Being taken prisoner at Preston, he was detained in captivity in Warwick Castle for four years, and on his release returned to Scotland. His estates having in the meantime been sequestrated, he fell into abject poverty, and in the last years of his life readily accepted alms from the charity of friends who had known him in happier times. As an illustration of the condition to which he was reduced, it is said he was frequently seen dining off "a salt herring and an onion." He died in September, 1659.

The character of the first Lord Traquair has been somewhat of an enigma to historians. Clarendon says of him that "without doubt he was not inferior "to any in the nation in wisdom and dexterity, and though he was often "provoked by the insolence of some of the bishops to a dislike of their over "much fervour and too little discretion, his integrity to the king was without "blemish, and his affection to the church so notorious that he never deserted "it till both he and it were over-run and trod under foot, and they who were "the most notorious persecutors of it, never left persecuting him to the death." This estimate of his sincerity and loyalty is, I fear, based on slender grounds. He seems to have been too anxious to stand well with both of the contending parties, and while he was undoubtedly a man of talent, his lack of consistency prevented him from gaining the weight and influence which his abilities entitled him to exercise.

His son John succeeded him as second earl, and was even less consistent than his father. While a leading Presbyterian, he married two Catholic wives, in those days a very serious step. His first wife was Lady Henrietta Gordon, daughter of George, second Marquess of Huntly, who had been beheaded at the Cross of Edinburgh for his loyalty, widow of George, Lord Seton, and mother of George, first Earl of Winton. The marriage was solemnized by the minister of Dawick without proclamation of banns, an offence for which

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the unhappy clergyman was deposed and excommunicated, while the bridegroom was fined £5,000 Scots, excommunicated, and imprisoned. He married, secondly, Lady Anne Seton, daughter of George, second Earl of Winton, half-sister of his former wife's first husband.

Not much is recorded of the second earl, and the little we hear of him does not redound to his credit. His treatment of his father in denying him all help in his distress is inexcusable, except on the supposition that he himself was in necessitous circumstances. He was an elder, but his mode of life seems to have been sadly inconsistent with his office, for on 9th August, 1657, he appeared before the Presbytery of Peebles, and being charged with absenting himself from church, drinking, swearing, etc., he admitted the truth of the accusations, and received from the Moderator "a grave rebuke." In the end he is said to have died a member of the Church of Rome.

In February, 1672, the Privy Council being alarmed lest the widowed Countess of Traquair should bring up her young son William, the third earl, in her own faith, summoned her to Holyrood, and the young nobleman was ordered to be consigned to the care of the Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, to be educated in the Reformed religion at the sight of the Archbishop of Glasgow. In December, 1673, the order having apparently been evaded, Lady Traquair was again ordered to appear at Holyrood with the young earl, when it was resolved that he should be sent to a good school, with a pedagogue and servants to be approved of by the Archbishop.

Charles, the fourth earl, who married Lady Maxwell, daughter of Robert, fourth Earl of Nithsdale, confirmed Catholicism in the family, and it became thereafter the recognised faith of the House of Traquair.[1]

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[1] Robert Chambers relates an anecdote of two daughters of the fourth Earl of Traquair, which will illustrate the rigorous economy which they were driven to exercise in their household affairs. Living in Edinburgh, the Ladies Barbara and Margaret Stewart had sent out their servant to perform the weekly marketing. On her return, it was discovered that the basket contained a dozen of potatoes, which the domestic had been induced to purchase on the representation that they "wad eat sae fine wi' the mutton." But she was at once told to "tak' back the taties; we need nae provocatives in this house." Chambers' *Traditions of Edinburgh*, page 310.

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In 1688 when a persecution of the Catholics arose, the Earl of Traquair and his priest fled. A search was made at Traquair, and there being found what is described in the *Vindication of Mr. Richard Cameron* as "a great deal of Romish wares," these were burned at the Cross of Peebles.

Charles, fifth earl, was compelled to sell to the Earl of March lands to the value of £12,000, and to the Duke of Buccleuch lands to the value of £8,000.

A further diminution of the old heritage of the Stuarts of Traquair took place in 1789, when other lands were sold by the trustees of Charles, seventh earl. This nobleman was the father of Charles, eighth and last earl (who died unmarried in 1861 when the title became dormant), and of Lady Louisa Stuart who only died in 1875, in her 100th year. Lady Louisa is universally admitted to have been an example of the finest type of the old Scots lady. To the end she kept up the use of distaff and the spinning-wheel with other customs of an older day.

Lady Louisa was succeeded by the Hon. Henry Maxwell, fourth son of Marmaduke Constable Maxwell, and brother of William, thirteenth Lord Herries. Marmaduke Constable Maxwell was the son of William Haggerston Constable and Winifred, daughter of John Maxwell, titular Earl of Nithsdale, by Lady Catherine Stuart, daughter of Charles, fourth Earl of Traquair. It is interesting to recall that John Maxwell, titular Earl of Nithsdale, was son of William, fifth Earl of Nithsdale, and his intrepid countess, Lady Winifred Herbert, daughter of William, Marquess of Powis, who, as is well-known, saved her husband's life when he was imprisoned in the Tower, awaiting execution with Lords Derwentwater and Kenmure after the Civil War of 1715.

The Hon. Henry Maxwell assumed the name of Stuart, and was the father of Mr. Herbert Maxwell Stuart, the present proprietor of Traquair.

Traquair is a specially interesting example of the old Scots mansion. The house and offices form three sides of a square, about 100 feet each way, the fourth side being closed by a railing in which there is an entrance gate-way. Along the exterior face of the main building runs a double terrace with a pavilion at each end. To this terrace it has a frontage of 122 feet, while to the courtyard the frontage is 100 feet.

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The building is of three periods. The oldest part is the north-east corner of the quadrangle which dates from the thirteenth century.

In 1642 the building was extended by the first earl to the south-east, and the attic storey of the first portion was added. The two wings and entrance gateway date from the end of the seventeenth century.

Re-entering the carriages, the Society returned by the north side of the Tweed to Peebles, where, under the guidance of Professor Veitch, the members successively inspected the ruins of the old churches of St. Andrew and the Holy Cross. The site of the Castle of Peebles was pointed out, and the few remaining fragments of the town hall were viewed with interest; after which a visit was paid to the Chambers Institution, the front portion of which is an interesting old building, the residence successively of the Hays, Lords Yester, and of the Queensberry family. Subsequently Mr. Hay, Town-Clerk, exhibited to the Society a variety of old burgh charters and other documents, dating from the 14th and 15th centuries. Among the more interesting of these may be mentioned:—

Letters by David II., charging the Community of Peebles to assign a stance for a Chapel in the common ground of the Burgh. Edinburgh, 8th March, 1362-3.

Charter by David II., granting Mill at Innerleithen to the Chapel of St. Mary at the West End of Peebles. 20th September, *anno regni* 38.

Charter by James II. to the Burgh of Peebles, confirming grants by previous Kings. Edinburgh, 5th February, 1451-2.

Letters by James III., under his Privy Seal, freeing the Burgesses and Inhabitants of Peebles from appearing in the Courts of the King's Forest at Ettrick. Edinburgh, 28th October, 1473.

Charter of Confirmation and Novodamus by James IV., under his Great Seal in favour of the Burgh of Peebles. Edinburgh, 24th July, 1506.

Having completed their examination of the antiquities of the old burgh, the members dined in the Tontine Hotel, under the presidency of Professor Veitch, who was supported on the right by the Provost of Peebles and on the left by the Town-Clerk. The excursion party returned to Glasgow later in the evening.

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CORRIGENDA.

p. 273, line 20—*For* "solemni," *read* "solenni."
p. 274, line 4—*Delete* "He was not more than a year at Glasgow, and"

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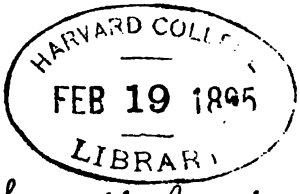
II. 3397



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No. XV.

THE ANCIENT SEAL OF THE BURGH OF RUTHERGLEN:

BY

THE MOST REVEREND ARCHBISHOP EYRE, D.D., LL.D.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 19th January, 1893.*]

THE illustration which accompanies this paper is taken from an early seal of Rutherglen burgh.

In Mr. Laing's *Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals* he describes the two ancient seals of Rutherglen, *i.e.*, the burgh seal and its counter-seal. He says, "This, as well as the "counter-seal, seems to have been a very fine "seal, but, unfortunately, is in bad preserva-"tion. The design is a galley with two men, "one engaged in rowing, the other furling the sails. The inscription seems to "be *Sigillum communitatis de Rugleninse*," vol. i., No. 1181, p. 214. The counter-seal represents "the Virgin with the Infant Jesus, and at each side an "angel waving the thurible. The inscription is '. . . . . *is* . . . *tria rataram* "'. . . . *me* . . . A.D. 1493,'" No. 1182, p. 214. He took his cast of this seal from an impression in the General Register House.

Our attention will now be confined to the seal in the illustration. The original brass matrice of this seal is now in private hands. It would seem that there were formerly two different seals. The second one described by Laing has no galley upon it, and the inscription is different from that on the seal now before us, which is *Sigillum Burghi de Rutherglen*. This seal combines the galley of the more ancient burgh seal with the emblem of its counter-seal, *i.e.*, the Divine child on His mother's knee and the two angels, with the legend of the former changed into the *Sigillum Burghi de Rutherglen*. The emblems on the seal are three—(1) The Divine Child in the arms of the

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Blessed Virgin, who is seated; (2) Two angels waving the thurible or censer; and (3) a ship, or galley, with sails furled.

We have looked through the descriptions of the various Scottish seals in Laing's two volumes, amounting to 2608 seals, and we find only five seals in which there is a representation of the Divine Infant in His mother's arms, with angels waving thuribles. The other four are—(1) The burgh seal of Dundee; (2) a Dunkeld Bishop's seal; (3) a Kelso seal; and (4) another Kelso seal.

The burgh seal of Dundee has "the Virgin and Infant Jesus seated; at each "side is an angel waving the thurible. The legend is *Sigillum commune Ville* "*de Dundee*," L. ii. No. 1211, p. 215. The seal of Matthew, Bishop of Dunkeld, A.D. 1289-1305, has "the Virgin and Infant Jesus, with the Apostles St. Peter "and St. Paul at the sides, and two angels with thuribles above"; the date is *c.* 1335; L. i. No. 891, p. 152. The Kelso seal, with these emblems, is a seal of the Abbot of Kelso, of the early date of 1292. It has "a full length figure "of the Blessed Virgin suckling the Infant Jesus, and at each side is an angel "kneeling and waving the thurible. The inscription is *Virgo tuum natum* "*lactans fac me sibi gratum*," L. i. No. 1061, p. 190. A second Kelso seal, that of Patrick, Abbot of Kelso, of more than 100 years later date, has a similar design and inscription, with the difference that the figure of the Virgin is only half length, and the angels at the sides are also half length, L. i. No. 1062, p. 191, plate xxv., fig. 3; of these five seals, two are burghal and three ecclesiastical seals.

Amongst Scottish seals we sometimes find representations of the Divine Infant in His mother's arms, with angels on each side, but without thuribles. The counter-seal of Crail, a royal burgh in Fife, has "the Virgin and Infant "Jesus, with angels worshipping," L. ii. No. 1205, p. 214. The seal of John, Bishop of Dunkeld (A.D. 1356-1369) has a "half-length figure of the Virgin "and Infant Jesus, and figures of angels adoring," L. i. No. 892, p. 152. The seal of the Dean of Aberdeen has angels with scrolls on each side of the B. Virgin who is seated with the Infant Saviour in her arms, L. i. No. 972, p. 171. On the seal of the Abbot of Arbroath, of date 1371, are angels kneeling and adoring on each side of the Divine Infant on the knees of the B. Virgin seated, L. i. No. 978, p. 172.

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On three other Scottish seals we find representations of a single angel with the thurible, but without any figure of the Infant Saviour or the B. Virgin. An Arbroath seal, now in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries, has a full length figure of a bishop, and "on each side is a figure of an angel with the "thurible," L. i. No. 981, p. 174. The seal of the chapter of Dunkeld represents an angel waving the thurible over an elegantly formed reliquary, L. i. No. 1017, p. 181. And its counter-seal has the figure of St. Columba seated, and above it "a demifigure of an angel waving the thurible," No. 1018.

The third emblem in the Rutherglen seal is a ship or galley, known heraldically as a lymphad. The lymphad is an ancient ship with one mast, not infrequent in the heraldry of Scotland. It is the feudal ensign of the Lordship of Lorn. The galley forms the armorial bearing of a number of places at which shipping was one of the leading interests. He may mention (*a*) The arms of Crail, "a galley with rowers," L. ii. No. 1204, p. 214; (*b*) the small common seal of Crail, "a galley with sails furled," No. 1206; (*c*) the common seal of Inverkeithing, "a galley on the water," No. 1224, p. 217; (*d*) the seal of Kirkwall, "a three-masted galley on the water, sails furled," No. 1238, p. 219; (*e*) two seals of Queensferry, "a full length figure of St. "Margaret, and in the lower part a small ship," No. 1251, p. 222: and "a figure "of St. Margaret standing in a boat," No. 1252; (*f*) the seal of North Berwick, "a galley, the sails furled, rowed by four men," L. i. No. 1176, p. 213; (*g*) the seal of Rothesay, "a castle and below it a ship," L. i., No. 1179; (*h*) the common seal of Renfrew, "a galley on the water with sails furled," L. i. No. 1178, p. 213.

The explanation of the three emblems on the Rutherglen seal would seem to be as follows:—*Firstly*, The B. Virgin is represented because the ancient church of the burgh was dedicated to her. This church was granted by William the Lyon to the Abbey of Paisley, and Bishop Joceline (1175-1199) confirmed the grant. *Secondly*, In her arms is the Infant Saviour, whom the two angels are worshipping by offering and burning incense in thuribles, as the wise men did when "entering into the house, they found the child with "Mary His mother, and falling down they adored Him: and opening their "treasures they offered Him gifts; gold, frankincense, and myrrh." (St. Matthew

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ii. 11). *Thirdly*, The ship or galley was also represented because from an early date Rutherglen was the chief trading town and shipping port in the lower part of the Clyde.

We have seen that the earliest seal was a double one—seal and counter-seal. The seal had only the galley, with the legend, *Sigillum Communitatis de Rugleninse;* and that the counter-seal had the Virgin and Child, with the angels, but without the galley. Its legend was an inscription which Mr. Laing was unable successfully to read, but which has been ably supplied by Mr. Dickson, of the General Register House. It is a leonine verse, and runs thus, "*Signant ista tria rata navis nauta Maria*,"—*i.e.*, These three fixed things form the seal, the ship, the sailor, Mary.

From this legend it can be gathered that the seal and counter-seal were looked on as one seal—"*Signant* ista tria, *navis*," etc, because the galley was not on the counter-seal. Also, it seems clear that somewhat later than A.D. 1493 the seal was no longer used as a pendant seal, but that the seal and counter-seal were re-made in the form now before us, by adding all the emblems in one seal, by omitting the legend, *Signant ista tria*, etc., and by changing the other legend into *Sigillum Burghi de Rutherglen.*

This seal got into private hands many years ago. The burgh before 1790 used a new seal for their documents. When the new burgh hall was built in 1861-62, this caricature of the ancient seal was carved on the walls. It represents the Divine Infant in the arms of His mother, not seated but standing, with a small galley on the water, and on each side a figure, meant for a bishop, holding a thistle. A woodcut of this shield is given in David Ure's *History of Rutherglen*, and in the *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 293.

D. Ure, in his *History of Rutherglen*, remarks that "To the charters of the "corporations are suspended seals, containing impressions of the town coat of "arms. It consists of the Virgin and Babe, attended by two priests holding "up thistles in their hands. On the reverse is a ship with two mariners on "board." On p. 79 he gives a drawing of the obverse and reverse of what he calls the old seal, adding, "on the old seal, which is long ago lost, the human "figures were ill executed. In the modern seal, the ship is placed on the "background: it is greatly diminished in its size, and deprived of its mariners."

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Of the modern seal, as he terms it, a drawing is given as a frontispiece to his *History*.

From the fact that in his drawing of the old seal he represents the two figures holding thistles, and in his description of it describes the figures as "two priests holding up thistles in their hands," we are led to conjecture that the origin of the thistles may have been the misreading of the two angels with thuribles.

The only instance we have met with in Scotch seals of a representation of the thistle, is the seal of Archbishop Alexander Stuart, who was killed at Flodden in 1513. In that seal on the dexter is a figure of St. Andrew, and on the sinister side the B. Virgin holding the Infant Jesus. Between them is a shield with the arms of Scotland, and above it a cross fleury and a large St. Andrew's cross. At each side is a thistle, L. ii. No. 1010, p. 170. The thistle was a national emblem of Scotland from the time of James III. In the seal spoken of it may have been used to shew that Archbishop Stuart was the son (though natural son) of James IV. The thistle was rather a badge or cognizance than a charge.

No adequate motive can be assigned in explanation of the action of the authorities of Rutherglen in carving upon their town hall this shield, in which two figures with thistles are substituted for the angels with censers.

Changes in the charging of seals are not unknown in Scottish seals. A case in point is the old seal of the Collegiate Church of the B. Trinity, or Hospital, near Edinburgh, founded by the queen of James II., in 1462, in honour of the B. Trinity, the Virgin Mary, etc. This seal is described in L. ii. No. 1138, p. 199, and an engraving is given in plate xi. fig. 3. Within a gothic niche is the usual representation of the Trinity. Owing to the prejudice against any representation of the Holy Trinity, the seal was ordered to be changed in the year 1574. The change consisted in placing in the centre of the seal a representation of the church, and above it the words, "*Scta Trinitas* "*unus Deus.*" A drawing of the seal so changed is given in L. ii. No. 1139, p. 199. In this case the change was made deliberately, officially, and as a matter of taste. The change in the Rutherglen seal was not made officially, and may have been caused by the imperfect knowledge of heraldry, or by the blundering of some clerk.

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It would not be derogatory to the dignity of the municipality of Rutherglen, but rather to their credit, if they could see their way to replace the shield on the town hall by the ancient shield of the burgh.

Very much to the point is an instance in our own neighbourhood, in which a mistake made has been rectified by going back to the old form. The case is furnished in the arms of Maxwell of Pollok. Modern heralds had made the supporters of the shield two monkeys; whereas upon the seal, A.D. 1400, they are undoubtedly lions, L. i. No. 574, p. 98. "With great propriety the "present baronet has dismissed the monkeys and resumed the noble animals "adopted by his ancestors," Laing i. p. 16.

In like manner with great propriety the Municipality might dismiss the figures holding thistles and resume the angels with the thuribles.

In three ways a change could be made:—*Firstly*, By cutting out the stone with the objectionable shield, and replacing it by one with the correct arms of the burgh: or by smoothing the surface of the shield and putting upon it a copper shield with the arms in the heraldic colours. *Secondly*, Another scheme would be by cutting away the two figures with the thistles, and leaving the Divine Child in His mother's arms, and the galley. This would only be an imperfect arrangement, because it would not represent either the seal or the counter-seal of old times. But it would remove the objectionable figures with thistles. *Thirdly*, If nothing better could be done, it would be well to cut away all the work carved and leave a simple and bare shield. If we cannot have on the shield all we could wish for, it would be a great point gained to have nothing on the walls of the town hall of Rutherglen faulty in design and distressing to the eyes of those who understand heraldry, and who know what the cognizance of the venerable burgh has been for some four hundred years.

Four years ago the officials of the royal burgh of Rutherglen applied to the Lyon Office, Edinburgh, for a grant of arms. This was granted on 4th April, 1889. These arms consist of a shield with the galley only—two angels as supporters—over the shield a knight's helmet with the visor open, and the mantle—above is the B. Virgin with the Divine Child—and in base the motto "*Ex fumo fama.*"

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No. XVI.

NOTES ON THE OLD WESTERN TOWERS OF GLASGOW CATHEDRAL:

BY

THE MOST REVEREND ARCHBISHOP EYRE, D.D., LL.D.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society, held on 20th April, 1893.*]

THE object of a monograph on the old Western Towers is to put into permanent record information about two portions of our old Cathedral that have disappeared for half a century. The importance of doing this now will be evident when we bear in mind that many persons are now alive who were

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The source of information I have availed myself of are :—

1. *Essay on the Cathedral*, by M'Lellan, 1833.
2. *Plans, etc*, by J. Collie, Architect, 1835.
3. *Glasghu Facies.* (Edited by Dr. Gordon, 1871).
4. *Plans and Elevations of the Proposed Restorations*, by the Local Committee, 1836, Hedderwick.
5. *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, by R. Billings, 1845-52.
6. *Relics of Ancient Architecture in Glasgow*, by Fairbairn, 1849.
7. *History of Glasgow Cathedral*, by Jas. Pagan, 1856.
8. *The Ancient Church of Scotland*, by M. Wallcot, 1874.
9. *Old Glasgow*, by A. Macgeorge, 1888.

Engravings, prints, and pictures of the west end of the Cathedral with the two towers may be seen in the following list, given in the order of their relative value :—

1. Collie—(*a*) West Elevation, pl. xvii.; (*b*) Towers from south-east, pl. ii.; (*c*) Towers from south, pl. iv.; (*d*) Ground Plan of Towers, pl. iii.
2. Billings—North Tower only, Vol. iii., pl. ii.
3. David Roberts—Grouping of the two western and the central tower; the top windows of the north-west tower; also the set-offs of buttresses of south-west tower.
4. *Reg. Epis. Glasg.*—Hearne's Engraving in 1783—from south-west.
5. Macgeorge—Hearne's Engraving, p. 112; Views of Towers looking north-west, by Leitch (Frontispiece).
6. Walcott—Ground Plan, p. 178.
7. *Plans and Elevations*—From west, pl. iii; Ground Plan, pl. v.
8. *Glasghu Facies*—From south-west, p. 73; from south-east, p. 243; from west, p. 276; from south-west, p. 722; Ground Plan, p. 251.

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familiar with the old Towers, and who were witnesses of the removal; as also some persons who were employed in the work of destruction, and are able to supply their share of the evidence needed. What I have endeavoured to do is by examination of the various engravings and drawings of the two Towers, and by conversation with work-people employed in the removal, to throw all the light possible on the subject; and thus to furnish a chapter that may be useful when some one who has the ability, and the leisure, may undertake to compile an exhaustive history of Glasgow Cathedral. So much want of knowledge on the subject has been manifested by the general public, and so much difference of opinion and divergence of statement by many who have written on the subject, that correct and complete information is much needed.

Of the old Scottish Cathedrals, only three or four had two western towers. These were Glasgow (283 feet long, or with tower 315 feet); Elgin (282 feet); Aberdeen (200 feet); and Brechin (198 feet). The other cathedrals had not this beautiful feature. Dunkeld and Fortrose had a north-west tower. Dunblane had a tower placed transept-wise. St. Andrews, Kirkwall, Iona, Lismore, and Whithorn had only a central tower.

Three of the monastic churches had this cathedral feature of two western towers—*i.e.*, Arbroath, a church 268 feet long, with a north-west tower 70 feet by 24 feet, and a south-west tower smaller; Holyrood church, of which only the roofless nave now remains; and Dunfermline, a church 276 feet long, with a north-west tower 24 feet square and 72 feet high, and a south tower.

The various uses of west towers were for belfries, treasury-houses, commissary or consistory courts, and libraries.

A peculiar feature about the Glasgow west towers is that they both projected wholly from the western facade, whilst those of Elgin and Aberdeen were on the line of the facade. The north-west tower of Brechin projected as in Glasgow, but the south-west round tower had a very slight projection. The ground plan of the west facade and the towers may be seen in Collie, pl. iii. in *Plans and Elevations*, pl. iv., and in Walcott, p. 178. Of these four cathedrals that had western towers, two—*i.e.*, Aberdeen and Elgin, had their two towers uniform in shape, size, and height. The two others had them dissimilar in shape and size. Uniformity was not required for the proper balance of the buildings. As Mr. Ruskin remarks, "Every successive

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"architect, employed upon a great work, built the pieces he added in his own "way, utterly regardless of the style adopted by his precedessors. And if two "towers were raised in the nominal correspondence at the sides of a cathedral "front, one was nearly sure to be different from the other, and in each the "style at the top to be different from the style at the bottom."

Before describing these two towers, I must call your attention to the date of their erection. Their chief interest and value depended upon their antiquity. On this subject much ignorance prevailed. A local committee constituted "to preserve and complete the cathedral," in 1836—that consisted of Lord Provost Wm. Mills, Bailies Small, Bain, Fleming, Paul, Dunlop, and Craig, with the Dean of Guild Brown, Deacon-Convener Neilson, City Treasurer Brock, Master of Works Hutchison, and City Chamberlain Strang, with fifty-five other worthy and well-meaning individuals, stated in their report, in "Plans and Elevations, &c.," that these towers were "recent erections that "obscure and deform the west elevation." Under this impression they wished them pulled down, and replaced by two towers according to a plan furnished to them by an Edinburgh architect, Mr. Graham Gillespie.

The truth is that these towers were venerable in their antiquity. The date of their erection was immediately after the completion of the nave and aisles, if not at the same time. Of this there was evidence in the north-west tower. To Mr. Honeyman, we are indebted for calling attention to this fact. In *Old Glasgow*, Mr. Macgeorge writes as follows:—"A piece of real evidence has "been communicated to me by Mr. Honeyman. I was told, he writes me, "by one who examined it at the time, that the jambs of the west window of "the north aisle, which was covered up by the tower, were found, when "exposed, to be quite fresh. *There was no chase cut for glasing*, and evidently "the window had never been used before the erection of the tower." This shows that probably the north-west tower was part of the original design, or if not, that its erection was resolved on before the north aisle was completed, and it was built before the north window of the north aisle required to be glazed. The south-west tower was most probably of the same date.[1]

[1] Ten plates of these towers are given in various books, and at the dates assigned:—The towers in A.D. 1650—M'Ure, p. 73, and *Scotich.* p. 441; in A.D. 1690—Slezer's view, M'Ure, p. 242; in A.D. 1747—Morrison's view, M'Ure, p. 276; in A.D. 1768—M'Ure,

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The north-west tower can be considered first. It was a perfect square, 32 feet by 32 feet, and 21 feet inside measurement. Its walls were 118 feet high, and the spire to the cross was 26 feet high, making a total of 144 feet. There was one buttress on each of its three sides, each buttress being 24 feet high. On the lower storey, there were two pointed windows on the west side, two on the south side, but none on the north side. On the top stage, or storey, each of the four faces had larger and richer pointed double windows. A clock face had been placed, in late years, on the window of the west side. Inside the tower was groined.

The imposing effect of this tower, 118 feet up to the spire, can be judged from the fact that the height of the nave is 85 feet, thus giving a difference of 33 feet. The eye can judge of its effect and importance from the engraving by Billings, from the larger one given by Collie, and from the more complete one in *Plans and Elevations.*

In the engraving by Billings, taken in 1847, when the other tower had been pulled down, we see the north-west tower only, with a small square opening on the south side, near the top of the buttress, and two other small openings higher up, in the centre of the same south side. This tower was used as the bell tower of the Cathedral until the stone central tower was built. M'Ure, who died in 1747, states that within this steeple there were two large bells. The larger one, 11 feet 4½ inches in circumference, was rung every day at 8 a.m.; and the lesser one, 8 feet 10½ inches in circumference, was rung every night at 10 o'clock (p. 689).

The December (1892) number of the *Archæological Journal*, in an article by Mr. Joseph Bain, throws considerable light upon these two bells. "Two "fabrications," he says (*i.e.*, the alleged gift of the great bell by Marcus Knox, a merchant in Glasgow, and the casting in Holland), "have passed current "for more than 150 years. The gift by Knox is due to the fertile imagination "of John M'Ure, the first historian of Glasgow. M'Ure, who published his "book in 1736, when describing the Cathedral and its western tower or cam-

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p. 65; in A.D. 1783—Hearne's view, in *Reg. Epis. Glasg.* (frontispiece), and in *Old Glasgow*, p. 112; in A.D. 1880—Leitch's view, *Old Glasgow* (frontispiece); in A.D. 1835—Collie; in A.D. 1836—*Plans, &c.*; in A.D. 1844—M'Ure, p. 722; in A.D. (?)—David Roberts; and in 1847—Billings.

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"panile (demolished by an act of vandalism about fifty years ago), says—
"'there were then two large bells in that tower, the larger one gifted by
"'Marcus Knox, merchant in Glasgow, at the Reformation,' a statement
"repeated by every city historian since his day. There is no authority for
"this assertion in the Council records of the city of Glasgow, which are extant,
"tolerably complete, from the year 1581.

"There is, on the other hand, written evidence, founding the strongest
"presumption, that the two bells in the western tower were given by Archbishop
"Dunbar, the predecessor of Archbishop Betoun. In his will, confirmed on
"30th May, 1548, and now in the General Register House, Edinburgh, he
"directed his executors to pay a bell-founder (whose name is somewhat un-
"certain, but reads like 'Amis') for making and founding two bells, their
"carriage, hanging, and other expenses (as in his contract with the workman),
"the sum of £196 1s. 1d., and for the repair of the campanile (the western
"tower) in which they were to be hung, £106 13s. 4d. One of his executors,
"James Houston, was Sub-Dean of Glasgow, and there is no doubt he
"fulfilled the Archbishop's directions as to the bells and tower. Houston
"died in 1551. This bell had been cracked or damaged in 1593-94, and was
"re-cast by Arthur Allan at that date.

"The Council minutes show that there was, at this very date, a burgess of
"Glasgow named Marcus Knox, who was chosen treasurer (out of 8 candidates),
"on 1st June, 1596. Here, then, is the germ of his mythical gift. In his
"capacity of town treasurer he would be authorised to pay, and no doubt paid,
"the bell-founder, Allan, the balance due to him on 4th November that year;
"and tradition, rolling on like a snowball, has finally credited him with paying
"the expense *out of his own funds*, thus depriving the real donor, Archbishop
"Dunbar, of the merit due to his munificence.

"For these references," adds Mr. Bain, "I have to thank Mr. Robert
"Renwick, Depute Town Clerk of Glasgow, who took great pains in the
"matter" (p. 331).

The corresponding tower on the south-west now claims our attention. It was separated by the space of 27 feet from the north tower. The dimensions of this tower shows it to have been 34 feet from north to south, and 32 feet from west to east in external measurement, and internally, 25 feet by 22 feet. It

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was a more important building than its fellow, and of rather larger size, or two feet longer. On the west facade it had three buttresses, and one on the angle of the north end of the east side. At the south-east angle there was an important projection, a combination of buttress and circular staircase, in form half an octagon, with an entrance door to the stair on the east angle, and two chinks to light the stair. On the south side, the building was lighted by a large double-pointed window. These features can be best seen and understood by reference to Collie's ground plan, pl. iii. and iv.

The height of this building was 70 feet—*i.e.*, the walls 54 feet, and the two gables 16 feet. Though shorter by 74 feet than the north tower, there are many reasons for supposing that it was meant to be as important, if not a more important tower. These reasons are:—(1) That the buttresses were the same height as those on the other tower: (2) On the west side there were three buttresses, whilst the other tower had only one on the west side: (3) The stair in the strong projecting buttress, and giving access to the upper stage, gives reason to believe that additional height was intended: (4) Its wall was stronger than that of the north tower, as it had windows only on the south side, and the north tower had windows on both the south and west sides: (5) The south tower was usually more important than the north one, as the south aisle was more important than the north aisle: (6) The west wall was nine feet thick, and the north and south walls ten feet thick; though the walls of the north tower were eleven feet thick.

Its second stage, or floor, was lighted by a double E English window on the south gable, somewhat similar to the windows below it. (See Macgeorge, frontispiece). A third stage, or floor, just above the top of the two buttresses, was lighted by two square-headed windows; and in the gable, which was corbie-stepped, there were two smaller square-headed windows. This building, or tower, was probably built about the same time as the north tower. But Mr. M'Ure, who was a very indifferent antiquarian, says: "This building "was erected, it is believed, a short time before the Reformation," p. 245. From the mouldings of the windows on south gable, so accurately drawn by Collie, the age of the tower can be seen to have been built, *ca.* 1350. Mr. Collie's drawing, pl. ii., gives the best view of this tower, and shows the west gable with its four tiers of windows, the corbie-stepped gable, and the four

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sides of the half-octagon staircase, with its two squints or stair lights. All this is still better shown in pl. iv., which also enables us to see the proportions between this building and the rest of the Cathedral.

Another mistake may be here pointed out. M'Ure, who could never have been at the pains of measuring either of these towers, coolly states that the church "hath a session house on the north side, and a consistorial house on "the south side thereof—the length of each being 30 feet and 50 feet wide," p. 688.

This south tower, or building, is best known as the consistory house. In old records it was called the library house of the Cathedral; and the books may have been kept in one of the upper floors. It was popularly known as the "gutty tower."

Its chief interest lies in the fact that it was the place in which the Bishops held their ecclesiastical courts, and where the Diocesan records were kept.

Bishop Cameron (1426-45) arranged that Commissariat Courts of Glasgow, Hamilton, and Campsie, should be held three times a week, *i.e.*, on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, in the consistorial house. The court-room was 25 feet long and 22 feet wide. In the *Liber Protocollorum*, published by the Grampian Club, and which contains ancient records from 1499 to 1513, are entries of various transactions gone through in the consistory house. The first of these entries was in the year 1505, and is "an instrument narrating "that Quintin Mortoun, citizen of Glasgow, cessioner and assignee to all the "goods of Katherine Wryght, compeared in presence of Mr. John Sprewle, "commissary, and Mr. David Conigham, official general of Glasgow, sitting "as Judges in the consistory of the Metropolitan Church thereof, and pro-"tested and alleged that all the said goods which fell to him by the said "Katherine, ought to belong to himself in full right, because he gave the said "goods out of his own, in dowry to the said Katherine, his spouse, who had "died within a year after the completion of their marriage; and accordingly "they ought to be wholly converted to his own use and to belong to none else. "Done in the said consistory, about eleven o'clock A.M., 8th April, 1505."

Another document, dated 13th May, 1510, shows that Mr. Andrew Birkmyre, a vicar of the church, was convicted of having used reproachful language to Mr. Martin Rede, the chancellor and official of the Diocese, sitting in court

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in the consistory house. The Archbishop ordered the offender to ask pardon on his knees on the floor of the consistory house, both of the official, and of himself as representing the Church, pp. 15, 471, 473.

During the troublous times of the Reformation and following years, the west end and other parts of the fabric required repairs. The minutes of the Town Council towards the end of the 16th, and the beginning of the 17th century, show efforts made in this direction, and attest that the north-west tower and the consistory house, as well as the choir and nave, have shared their care. Dr. Marwick's volume of extracts shows, under date 21st August, 1574, that the Provost, Bailies, and Council, with the deacons of the crafts and divers other honest men of the town, met in the council house, to take into consideration the great decay and ruin caused by taking away the lead, slate, and other material, etc., etc.

What was done to the north-west tower, about 64 years after the Reformation, is found in a minute under date 15th May, 1624:—"The Provost, "Bailies, and Council, ordain that the laich steeple of the Cathedral be "theiked with lead."

The south-west tower required a more extensive repair. A minute, under date 5th April, 1628, states that the Provost, Bailies and Councils, have arranged and agreed that James Colquhoun, wright, and John Boyd, mason, build and repair the decayed parts of the library house of the Cathedral, put the roof thereon, geist and loft the same, and theik the same with lead, and do all things necessary thereto for 3,100 merks. (*Old Glasgow*, p. 104).

The wretched state of dilapidation into which its custodians had permitted the Cathedral to fall, forms a sad contrast to the reverential care bestowed previously on the noble edifice. An instrument is printed in the *Diocesan Registers* showing a formal call, made on 11th January, 1504, by Mr. David Cunningham, the Archbishop's vicar general, to Mr. John Gibson, rector of Renfrew, and master of work of the church of St. Mungo, to lay out money on the "small and minute matters necessary, both inside and outside" the fabric, as his predecessors, masters of the said work, were in the practice of doing. (See p. 309).

A view of the building as it was in M'Lellan's time, *i.e.*, in 1836, when both towers were standing and in good repair, may be seen in his book.

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In M'Ure's *Glasghu Facies*, Dr. Gordon, in a note, remarks that "The "flat above (the consistory house) was fitted up as a store for different official "papers connected with the court, and an immense mass of documents "had collected uncared for by any one. Externally it was nothing but a "room full of paper-rubbish, exposed to the weather and covered with the "droppings of crows and pigeons." (p. 65).

Two letters are printed by him bearing on this subject. The first was written to the *Glasgow Herald*, in 1850, by a Mr. Gabriel Neil, a Glasgow manufacturer, and a member of the Council of the Glasgow Archæological Society:—

"THE OLD DOCUMENTS IN THE LATE CONSISTORY HOUSE.[1]

"*To the Editor of the Glasgow Herald.*

"SIR,—In your paper of yesterday you put the following question: 'By the "'way, what has become of the wreck of these old documents that accumu- "'lated in the consistory house since the dates of the Bishops?' Perhaps I "may be able to tender some scrap of information as to the fate of the 'wreck.' "About the time when the consistory house was doomed to destruction, I "one evening met with a friend who, from his personal observation the "previous day, told me that what were considered the valuable documents "connected with the consistory court had been carried off, and that the rest "were being condemned to the flames; but that many people were taking "away numbers of them. Having a species of literary avidity to share in "part of the spoil, I went next morning as early as seven o'clock to the "consistory house, the whole of the lower part or ground floor, of which "I found filled with a heavy, dark brown smoke, where certainly conflagration "was making its way—little tufts of loose paper flaming up here and there— "but the great mass smouldering; for, sorry indeed, did the documents "appear to wish to become defunct, even by the help of two stout labourers "stirring them up with long sticks. Vexed at what I deemed the recklessness "of such proceedings, and, with a desire to secure even yet a few, I ventured, "under a feeling next to suffocation, knee-deep among the mass, and, picking "up parcels, I thought, might contain a subject or two for future use, was "making my exit: however, I was detained under instructions the labourers

[1] M'Ure, p. 65-6.

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"had received, that no more papers were to be taken away. But, never mind "how it was or through what agency, whether *per fas aut nefas*, I got released, "possessed of a goodly number of documents, which, arranging into a portable "bundle on a grave-stone, I departed, very down in the mouth and afflicted, "to witness this scandalous *auto-da-fe* and last solemn obsequies of what "might have supplied food to many local antiquarian pens, and contributions "to newspaper columns for generations to come. On a leisurely examination "of the contents of my random bundle, I discovered them to consist of such "as the following:—many loose papers in strips, which, from having been "tossed about, had lost their relationship to their parent subjects, on which "were written names and genealogies not a few—these most likely bearing "reference to cases before the consistory court; several leaves of a sermon, "in a fine, small, clear, close handwriting, of some two centuries ago; stanzas "of poetry; a beautifully engraved and partly written official document in the "Danish language, with two seals, dated May, 1711; bills of exchange and "bills of lading, and mercantile letters—all connected with our trade to "Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, prior to, and about the date of the Union "of our Kingdom with England. . . . I regret, Mr. Editor, that my "memory does not serve me in giving you further details of the foregoing "documents, having put them long since into the hands of our late worthy "and intelligent townsman, Mr. Robert Stuart, when compiling his *Notices "of Glasgow in Former Times* for any use he could make of them; but "from the sample, you may judge how much curious and interesting matter "we have lost by the conflagration of many hundred weights of stock.

"I am, SIR,

"Yours, etc.,

"GLASGOW, *20th Jany., 1850.* "GABRIEL NEIL."

Further information on the subject is given in the following letter from the Commissary Clerk of Lanarkshire in 1850:—

"*To the Editor of the Glasgow Herald.*[1]

"GLASGOW, *29th Jany., 1850.*

"SIR,—I observe from the Report of the Proceedings of the Dean of Guild "Court, in your paper of the 28th January, that a desire is expressed to know

[1] Gordon, p. 67.

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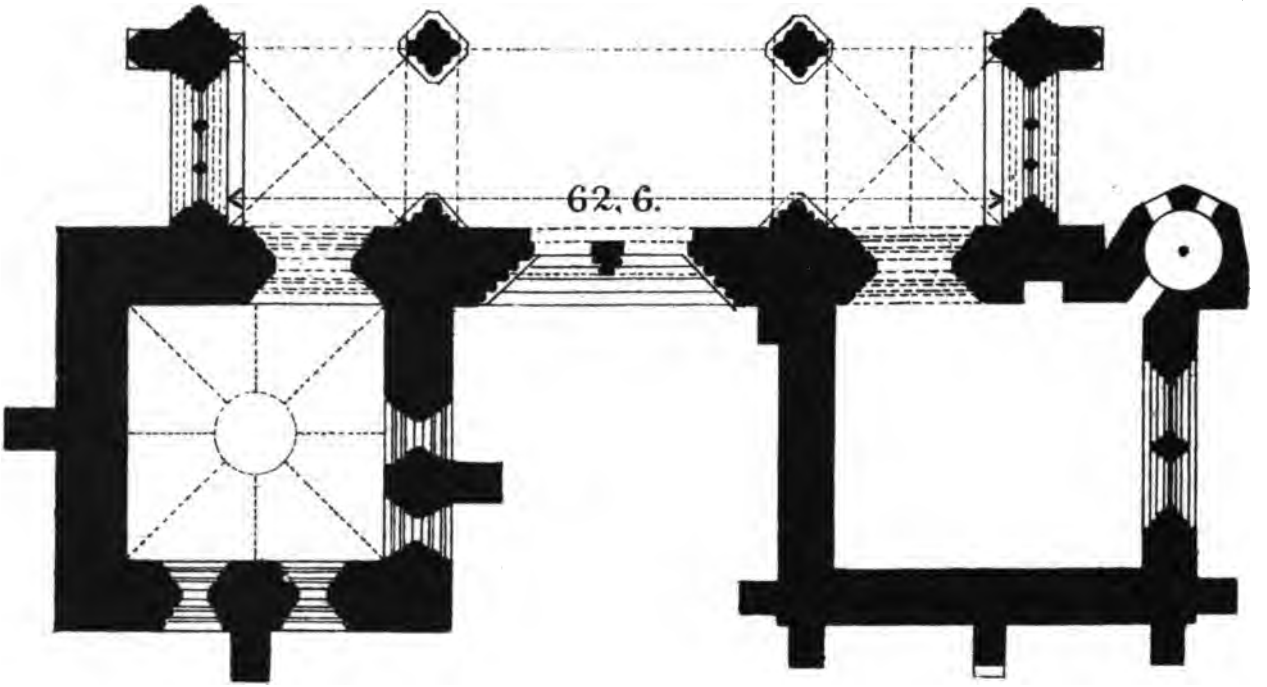

N.W. Tower.

S.W. Tower or Consistory House.

SCALE 5 0 10 20 FEET

GLASGOW CATHEDRAL TOWERS.

Mackurw Macdonald & Co

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"what became of the Records of the ancient and extensive Commissariat of "Glasgow, which I can explain. In March, 1817, I was, by a commission "from the Crown, appointed Clerk to the Commissariat of Glasgow, "which I held till January, 1824, when, in virtue of the Act of the "4th of King George IV., cap. 97 (which abolished that and other two "small commissariats in the county), I became clerk of the newly-formed "Commissariat of *Lanarkshire*, and, in obedience to that act, I sometime "afterwards sent to the General Register House, in Edinburgh, the whole "papers and deeds of every description connected with the late Commissariat "of Glasgow—where, I presume, they may be seen, on application to the "proper authorities.

"I am, SIR,

"Your most obedient Servant,

"C. D. DONALD,

"*Commissariat Clerk of Lanarkshire.*"

Owing to the idea that seems to have prevailed that these towers were not of any great antiquity, and also to the fact that they extended beyond the line of the west facade, and somewhat cramped the west door and window, a scheme was set on foot for their destruction. "Both buildings," as Macgeorge remarks, "apart from their antiquity, were valuable as adding greatly to the "beauty of the Cathedral, and the tower was really essential to the proper "balance of the structure; yet, incredible as it may appear, these two "interesting and important parts of the Cathedral, both at the time in the "most perfect state of preservation, were, within the last forty years, pulled "down by order of Her Majesty's First Commissioner of Works, in the course "of certain operations professing to have for their object the improvement "and restoration of the Cathedral!" (p. 101).

A folio consisting of sixteen pages of text and lithographs, printed in 1836, by James Hedderwick & Son, Glasgow, and entitled, *Plans and Elevations of the proposed Restorations and Additions to the Cathedral of Glasgow: with an Explanatory Address by the Local Committee*, explains what was proposed by this Committee. The proposed *restoration* was the *pulling down*, and the *addition* was the *taking away* the towers. Their "want of taste," says Mr. Macgeorge, "was only equalled by their want of knowledge, and

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"among them were the then Lord Provost and magistrates of the city. . . . "The late Mr. M'Lellan, who wrote an account of the Cathedral, and who "was one of those who instigated the act of vandalism, sought to excuse the "removal of the tower on the ground that it was of a date later than the "nave; yet he himself ascribes it to the time of Bishop Bondington—that is "to the 13th century—a period sufficiently remote surely to have saved it "from the profane hands of modern empirics." (Macgeorge, p. 101-2).

The south-west tower or consistory house was removed first. We do not find any date given for this destruction, except by Walcott, who makes a great mistake in saying, "A north-west tower, and consistory court being the base "of another on the south, were destroyed in 1836." (p. 180). The south-west tower was not then pulled down, and an engraving of it was published in the *Plans, etc.*, in 1836. It remained over 1844 as may be seen in woodcut of that date in Gordon's *Glasghu Facies* (quoted from Wade), p. 722, and reproduced in the *Scotichronicon*, p. 441. Gordon says it was taken down in 1845 (p. 245); but the removal took place in 1846. Billings' engravings of Glasgow Cathedral were made in 1847-48, and the south-west view, in pl. ii., bearing the date 1847, is without the consistory house. In his text he says, "*The* "*Consistory House has been removed.* The interior of the nave and roof are "undergoing repair, and it is understood that the western entrance is to be "repaired, the gallery of the choir removed, *and the belfry taken down*" (p. 7). This engaving is the only one we have seen that gives only the north tower.

In 1848 the north tower was also pulled down. The date 1854 is incorrectly given in the *Ordnance Gazeteer of Scotland*, ii., p. 157; also erroneously in a note by Dr. Gordon, p. 694.

Billings's work was published 1845-52, and his remark here quoted, was made after the engraving of the north tower, made in 1847. He says, "When we arrive at the west front of the Cathedral our joy is stayed, for "destruction is marked there, and against this act we do emphatically protest. "*The one western tower, represented in our view, has disappeared*, and given "place to a repetition of the modern pinnacle and ornaments of the south-"west angle, for the mere sake of vulgar uniformity. Glasgow originally "had the commencement of two west towers, and twenty years back saw "both: one in the shape of a house at the south-west angle, and the other as

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"we have represented it. The first was quietly removed as an excrescence; "and as a consequence the second followed it, because it looked odd; and in "addition to this it was stated that the tower was not ornamental enough, and "that it had been attached to the previously built nave, because one of the "buttresses of that portion of the building appeared within it, p. 9.

It must interest us to know what became of the old material when this tower was destroyed. "In the upper part of the tower were some curious "grotesque sculptures; these are now lying in the crypt below the chapter "house" (Macgeorge, p. 101). He means in the chapter house below the sacristy.

The excuses given for the destruction were—(1) That the tower was of a date later than the nave; (2) That both were ugly excrescences; (3) That they injured the facade of the west front, etc. A remonstrance was got up against the removal of the north-west tower, in the form of a memorial to the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of Glasgow. The memorial was signed by ten architects, and by other citizens. It is printed in the appendix to Mr. Honeyman's pamphlet, *The Age of Glasgow Cathedral*, taken from the *Scottish Reformers' Gazette*, of 26th August, 1848. We give the document, as it is not without its importance:—

"To the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council
"of Glasgow.

"The Memorial and Petition of the undersigned citizens,

"Respectfully sheweth,

"That the memorialists have learned, with regret, that it is the intention "of Government to demolish the north-west tower of the Glasgow Cathedral "and they are induced to solicit the Magistrates' and Council's influence to "avert this, for the following among other reasons:—

"(1) The tower is one of the ancient landmarks of Glasgow; it is vener-"able for its antiquity, and it is hallowed by early associations and recollections "to many of the citizens, who cannot see this familiar object of their early "days destroyed without making an earnest appeal to the guardians of the "city for its protection. The tower is considered by many persons to be "the most ancient part of the building, and that it is of a form, and in a

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"situation, characteristic of the ancient Scottish Cathedral. Mr. Wade, a "competent authority, in his volume on ancient and modern Glasgow, thus "describes it:—'The north-west tower is of a much plainer character. In "'the upper part of the tower the antiquary may treat himself with some "'curious grotesque sculpture, coeval, no doubt, with the most ancient portion "'of the fabric;' and the same author writes that a second and corresponding "tower was evidently intended.

"(2) The tower forms a portion of the Cathedral as it was in the days of "your predecessors in office, and it therefore becomes your duty, as guardians. "of the city, to preserve it, as it was intrusted to you, in all its integrity.

"(3) Should the tower be removed, the western front, if completed on the "north as it is now on the south, will have a low and diminutive character. "It is therefore imperative to have a commanding feature in that part of the "elevation; and while the memorialists conceive that the western tower, "raised to its former height, would fully answer this purpose, it would be less "expensive than any other that could be raised to be equally effective.

"(4) While your memorialists highly approve of the judicious renovation "of Glasgow Cathedral, they would suggest that further alterations be avoided "as much as possible, and the substitution of modern for the ancient archi-"tecture of the building, except where required by decay, be prevented.

"(5) That in such a matter of public interest, in which the character of the "city is implicated, a meeting of the citizens be called by the Lord Provost "and Magistrates, to ascertain public opinion on the subject, and to have it "fully discussed. The memorialists, therefore, respectfully pray that you will "interpose your influence with the Government to adopt such other measures "as to you shall appear most expedient, for preventing the demolition, and for "preserving in its integrity, the ancient tower now brought under your con-"sideration," pp, 23, 24.

Not much information has been got from those who were employed in pulling down the north-west tower. A man of the name of John M'Cormack, who lived at 5 Balmano Street, was one of those so employed. Another of of the name of William Begg, now living, was employed as a mason in repairing the wall after the removal of the tower. But the most information has been got through the kindness of Mr. William Kennedy, Clerk of Works,

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etc., living at 27 Kenmure Street. After a conversation with him, in which he promised to get me all the information he could procure, he wrote me on 14th March, 1890, as follows:—

"In reference to my promise to obtain some information regarding the "north-west tower, I beg to state that I have twice seen the party I spoke 'of—William Begg—who worked as a mason at the restoration of the "Cathedral, fully forty years ago. On my first visit to W. Begg, he could "not give me much information, as he said he and the other masons had "been mainly employed in rebuilding and piecing-up, and, so far as he "remembered, the towers were taken down by labourers; and, besides, he "had not paid any particular attention to the construction of the towers, "though the general impression among the masons was that they were more "modern that the other parts of the Cathedral, He told me, however, that "he was working at the Cathedral at the time of the Queen's visit (14th "August, 1849), and that the towers were cleared away before that time.

"Again, to-day, I visited W. Begg, taking with me Collie's Engravings, and "extracts from M'Lellan's *Essay on Glasgow Cathedral*, and Fairbairn's "*Relics of Ancient Architecture, etc., in Glasgow*, in the hope that they might "refresh his memory a little. He could not remember anything about the "groining spoken of by M'Lellan. He remembered quite well going into "the tower by a small door in the west end of the north triforium, and he is "almost certain that there was a similar doorway below, at the west end of "the north aisle, into the ground floor of the tower. He thinks that the upper "part was reached by ladders, but he has no recollection of having to go up "through the circular opening in the groined roofing, spoken of by M'Lellan, "and shown by Collie. He thinks the tower had been taken down, when he "went to the Cathedral, to about the string course below the upper window. "And I think it is very likely that the groining would be taken down before "commencing with the walls.

"From what W. Begg said—from the extract from Fairbairn's book, which "was published in 1849—and from what Pagan says, speaking in 1851, of "the west tower and consistory house, having 'been removed within the "'last four years,' p. 77, I think there is no doubt it was removed between "1847 and 1849.

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"There is nothing to indicate the position of the groining in the north-west "tower, except what M'Lellan says about its being at about a third of the "height of the tower; but I think that the fact that the buttresses, on the "three open sides of the tower, terminated at a little above the third of the "height, corroborates M'Lellan's statement to some extent. They would be "carried up sufficiently high to assist in resisting the thrust of the groins, and "then stopped, as shown. Probably there was a floor at the level of the "triforium, and the groining formed the ceiling to this room. The circular "opening in the centre must have been large enough to allow of the bell, "which was nearly three feet in diameter, being hoisted through it.

"I am inclined to think that most of the dressed stone, at least, would be "used in building up the buttresses, etc.

"W. Begg did not know whether any of the old stones now in the chapter-"house were from the old tower. I have examined them, and I believe there "is a possibility of one or two of them at least having belonged to it. I refer "to a stone which has a figure, with a scroll in front, sculptured on it. "M'Lellan speaks of the ribs of groining being on 'corbels carved into the "'semblance of human figures.' This stone has been built into an inner "angle—square below—and the rough outline of a rib can be traced yet by "the lime marks on the top. There is another stone exactly similar to this, "except in the head-dress of the figure. These two stones have evidently "been worked by the same mason; the same mark is on each, on the "circular plinth above the heads of the figures. The stone of which they are "made appears to be the same as that with which the buttresses, against which "the tower stood, are faced up; and I have no doubt the stone from the tower "would be used for this purpose. It is finer in the grain than most of the "stone that was used in restoring the other parts of the Cathedral. These "two stones are just what I would expect—I mean in shape—under the ribs "of such a groining as M'Lellan speaks of."

A few days later, *i.e.* on 18th March, Mr. Kennedy wrote me:—"I have "got in the chapter-house another corbel similar to the other two, except that "the carving represents foliage. This stone is of the same shape as the other "two, and has been used for the same purpose evidently. It has the same

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"moulding above the carvings, and has the same mason's mark on the "plinth."

The destruction of these towers has always been a subject of regret to antiquarians, and to persons of taste. Mr. Billings condemned the removal as an act of barbarism. The architects of Glasgow petitioned against the destruction, and Dr. Wilson, after referring to "the rich groining springing "from large half-figures of angels, bearing shields and scrolls, of the west "tower," observes, truly, that its removal "for the purpose of restoring the "west front to a uniformity, but poorly repays the idea of size and elevation "formerly conveyed by the contrast between the central and west towers." *Pre-hist. Annals*, ii., p. 428.

Mr. Billings adds—"In the year 1833, public attention was called to the "Cathedral by Archibald M'Lellan, Esq., who, at his own cost, produced an "extended essay, urging the necessity of restoration. His work was the pre-"cursor of a committee, having the then Lord Provost at the head, with Dr. "Clelland as secretary, and the author of the preceding movement appearing "modestly at the tail. This movement produced a second work, in which "appeared restored elevations, with two elaborately ornamented western "towers. A large fund was raised, a Government grant secured for these "restored designs by Mr. Graham, and—what followed all the enthusiasm of "the committee? A change of architects, and the utter disappearance of the "feature it was their main object to preserve" (Billings, p. 9).

The only comforting reflection upon the whole proceeding is that the alterations and towers of Mr. Graham were never gone on with. His proposed alterations of the transepts would have spoilt the outline and the proportions of the whole Cathedral, as may be seen in the ground plan of *Plans and Elevations*, pl. iii. His western towers were thin and ugly, of a kind peculiar to the age before pointed architecture was fully understood.

The lesson of the well-known parable is reversed in the case before us. "Which of you, having a mind to build a tower, doth not first sit down and "reckon the charges that are necessary: lest after he hath laid the foundation, "and is not able to finish it, all that see it begin to mock him, saying: 'This "'man began to build, and was not able to finish.'"—Luke xiv., 28-30. In this instance, the men who formed the committee, and who urged the removal

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of the towers, did not first sit down and reckon the charges that would hereafter be brought against them for an ill-advised step, injurious to the Cathedral, and offensive to all persons of good taste; and all who now see the grand old building, shorn of its Cathedral feature and made like a large parish church, mock and laugh at the action of the local committee, saying: "These men had two towers, and they went and pulled them both down!"

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No. XVII.

JOHN SNELL OF UFTON AND THE SNELL EXHIBITIONS

BY

GEORGE W. CAMPBELL.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society, held on 21st December, 1893.*]

THE parish of Ufton lies in the county of Warwick, some four miles from Leamington, on the way to Southam. Its extent is 1784 acres, and its population about 200 souls. With the exception of little over a hundred acres, the whole land is held by Balliol College, Oxford. The church and village stand on a hill commanding a wide view of a richly wooded country with associations as interesting as any in the land. Edge-hill and Warwick, Coventry and Kenilworth, Stratford-on-Avon and Rugby are all within a radius of twelve miles. The Roman Fosse Way from Cornwall to Lincoln passes within half a mile to the west of the western boundary. The old church dedicated to St. Michael contains two of those *low side windows* which have given rise to so much controversy among archæologists, being sometimes called *leper windows*, and sometimes windows for *utter confession*, according to the opinion entertained of their use.[1] There is also a monumental brass with the following inscription :—

"Here lyeth the boddyes of Richard Woddomes Parsson & Pattron and "Vossioner[2] of the churche and parishe of Oufton in the countie of Warrike "who died one Mydsomer daye 1587 And Margerye his wiffe wth her seven "childryn as namelye Richard John & John Anne Jone Elizabeth Ayles his "iiii daughters Whose soule restethe with God."

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1 The latter view, which was that of the late Mr. M. H. Bloxam, is set forth in his *Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*, vol. ii. pp. 127-131. (Ed. 1882.) For a more recent opinion that these windows were used to ring the sanctus bell out of, see *The Antiquary, New Series*, vol. i. pp. 122, 217.

2 Probably *owner of the advowson*. See *New English Dictionary*, vo. *Advowson*.

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Above the inscription, the parson and his wife are delineated kneeling on either side a table, with their children also kneeling, the boys ranged behind their father, and the girls behind their mother. In the churchyard is the upper part of the old parish cross, re-erected on a modern shaft, and standing about sixteen feet high. On each of its four faces is a broad, shallow niche. In the westmost is sculptured in relief the Crucifixion with the figures of St. Mary the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist. The other three niches contain respectively St. Chad, the Virgin and Child, and St. Catherine. Each niche is surmounted by a pediment and flanked by pinnacled buttresses supporting over all a pyramidal canopy richly ornamented with crockets and a modern finial. Beneath each buttress is carved the half-length figure of an angel.[1]

The village is insignificant containing three farmhouses, the school, the *White Hart* Inn and a few cottages.

The following is the notice of the place in Domesday Book, with the contracted text extended :—*Ipsa ecclesia (de Coventrey) tenet in Ulchetone 4 hidas. Terra est 8 carucarum. In dominio sunt 2: et 7 servi et 12 villani et 2 bordarii cum 6 carucis. Ibi 1 acra prati. Tempore Regis Edwardi valebat 4 libras: post 40 solidos: modo 100 solidos.*

The land is said to have been held in Saxon times by one, *Ulfe*, and to have taken from him its name of *Ulveton*, *Ulchetone*, or *Uffeton*. But its earliest authentic owner was "the grim Earl Leofric," now chiefly remembered as the husband of Lady Godiva. He gave it to the monastery of Coventry, then newly founded by himself and his lady, and the monks possessed it, with slight intermission, till the dissolution of their house in 1538. After being held seven years by the Crown, it was granted to Lord Wriothesley, then Chancellor, who passed it the same year to William Stanford, and he the next year to Sir Andrew Flammock and Elizabeth his wife, whose son and heir, Francis Flammock, sold it in 1558 to Sir John Spencer of Althorpe, through whose second son, Thomas Spencer of Claverdon,

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[1] The base and shaft of a similar cross stand in the main street of Henley-in-Arden. For an engraving and description of it, with capital which has now disappeared, see *The Gentleman's Magazine* of February, 1815.

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it came to William Spencer, and was purchased from him by John Snell.[1] It is from this purchase that its chief interest to us arises. From these fields of heavy clay has, for the last two centuries, been derived the revenue of the best foundation enjoyed by our College.

The founder, according to the continuator of Anthony Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, was born in 1629, in the parish of Colmonell, Ayrshire. In the churchyard of that parish is a flat tombstone which may be taken to be his father's. It is carved with a shield bearing a cross, with the motto *Per ardua virtus*, and this inscription :—

HEIR IS BURIED ANDRO SNELL SMITH
DIED
MARCH 10, 1663 AGED 72 BY M^R
JOHNE SNELL ONELY SON TO THE
FORENAMED IN TESTIMONIE OF HIS
FILIAL RESPECT TO THE MEMORY OF
HIS PARENTS WAS THIS GRAVESTON
ERECTED OCT^R 29, 1664

The following entries in the *Antiquum Album* of the University give us another glimpse of him :—

"*Postridie Idus Martii 1643 solemni dato jurejurando ascripti sunt qui*
"*sequuntur*

* * * * * * * *

"NOVITII IN QUARTA CLASSE.

* * * * * * * *

"JOHANNES SNELL."[2]

In another Register of the same time he is mentioned as "*Joannes Snell*
"*filius Andreæ Snell in M'Calanstone.*"[3] Among his class-fellows was

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[1] Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire (Dr. Thomas's Edition.)* and Snell's Will. In the latter, the name of the manor is given as "*Olufton alias Ulveton alias Uffeton.*"

[2] *Munimenta Almæ Universitatis Glasguensis*, vol. iii. pp. 97, 98.

[3] This place is now unknown in Colmonell. It is probably the same as "*MacColmstoune*
"*infra parochiam de Collmonnell,*" mentioned in the Retour of John, Earl of Cassilis, 22nd September, 1668. In Blaeu's map of that part of Ayrshire, prepared by Pont about 1608, there occurs, half-a-mile south of Penwherry, a place called *Mackomstoun* which may now be represented by *Campstone Holm* placed in the Ordnance Survey Map on the opposite side of the Stinchar to Penwherry Wood.

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"*Dominus Archibaldus Campbellus filius primogenitus illustrissimi Marchionis* "*Argatheliensis*," or as he signs himself in the other record "*Ar. Lorne*," afterwards Ninth Earl of Argyll.[1]

He was not more than a year at Glasgow, and we learn nothing further of him till we find him clerk to Sir Orlando Bridgeman when that great Royalist lawyer was practising in London as chamber counsel and conveyancer during the Usurpation.[2] When Bridgeman was appointed Lord Chief Baron of Exchequer in 1660, his clerk was made Crier of that Court;[3] on the judge's promotion, the same year, to be Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas, he took his Crier with him; and when in 1667 he was made Lord Keeper, Snell shared his patron's advancement in having conferred on him the office of Seal Bearer. He probably also shared his patron's fall in 1672, for he appears then to have gone to Scotland on the private business of the Duke of Monmouth; but he was again Seal Bearer in Shaftesbury's chancellorship. He died at Holywell, a suburb of Oxford, on 6th August, 1679, in the house of his brother-in-law, Benjamin Cooper, Registrar of the University of Oxford, with whom he had resided for some time previous. He was buried two days after at the upper end of the chancel, under the north wall, in the church of St. Cross, Holywell.[4] There is no monument to him, but the following entry appears in the Register:—

"1679,

"August 8. John Snell, Esq., was buried contrary to the Act aforesaid[5] in

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[1] *Munimenta*, vol. iii. pp. ix. x.

[2] His obtaining Sir Orlando's patronage would be well accounted for if a relationship could be proved between him and George Snell, Archdeacon of Chester, who married Sir Orlando's aunt, Lydia Bridgeman, youngest sister of John Bridgeman, Bishop of Chester. The Archdeacon, who was D.D. of St. Andrews University, died in 1656. See Foster's *Alumni Oxon.* and Ormerod's *Cheshire*.

[3] Dr. William Thomson, in *Deeds instituting Bursaries &c. in the University of Glasgow: Maitland Club, 1850*, says that Snell must have acted as Crier of Court at the trial of the Regicides; but this is an error, for although Bridgeman presided at that trial, the Court was one of special commission, and the crier's name was Hart. Cobbett's *State Trials*, v. 987.

[4] Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. iv. *Fasti* p. 371 (*Edn. Bliss.*).

[5] 30 Car. II. c. 3, intituled, "An Act for burying in Woollen." Cf. Pope—

"'Odious! in woollen! 'twould a saint provoke,'
"Were the last words that poor Narcissa spoke."

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"Linnen, whereof notice was given to the churchwardens, within the time "appointed by the Act, who thereupon claimed and received the moiety of "the forfeiture and distributed it to the poor of the parish."

We learn from Wood's *Athenæ* that he was "much esteemed for his great "diligence and understanding."

He was survived by his wife, Johanna, and his daughter, Dorothy, The latter was born in 1664 and married in 1682 to William Guise of Winterborough or Winterborne, Co. Gloucester, Gent.;[1] from which marriage is descended Sir William Guise, Bart., of Elmore Court, Gloucestershire. She died on 12th June, 1738.[2]

Although his residence at Glasgow was short, his affection for his college amounted almost to a passion. Two letters of his still exist. The first bears no date, but, from the date of the reply, was probably written in June, 1661. It is as follows :—

"SIR,—I have sent you by this bearer the Great Bible in the Orientall "languages, contayning six volumes commonly called the Πολύγλωττα,[3] for "the use of your Publiq library, gott forth by the learned Dr. Walton, Lord "Bishopp of Chester. I doe conceive that it is a book very worthy so famous "an University as Glasgowe, for it is justly esteemed by all learned men to be "the best of that kinde that ever was yett extant. Sir, my education in that "place, under the tutorage of the truly honourable and eminent Sir James "Dalrimple,[4] oblidges me in gratitude to wish you prosperitie, that as your "religion and great learning, so also your loyaltie may make you famous to "succeeding generations. And I do thinke it my duty to offer my small mite "to promote the same, humbly beseeching you, and the rest of your brethren,

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1 *Allegations for Marriage Licenses issued from the office of the Archbishop of Canterbury at London, 1543 to 1869. Harleian Society, 1886.*

2 Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage.*

3 *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, by Brian Walton, London, 1657.

4 Afterwards first Viscount Stair, one of the Regents of Glasgow University from 1641 to 1647, when he taught Logic, Morals, and Politics, with the elements of Mathematics. Notes of his lectures on Logic, taken by a student of his class in the year of Snell's attendance, still exist. See *Memoir* by Sheriff Mackay, p. 16.

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"the members of that honourable society, to accept this as the first fruits of "my affection to you in the quality of,

"SIR,

"Yours and the Universities

"Most affectionat Servant,

"JOHN SNELL.

"These to the Reverend Mr. Robert Bayly, his "most worthy friend, Principall of the famous "Universitie of Glasgowe in Scotland."[1]

Baillie, as was his custom, kept a draft or copy of his reply. It is as follows:

"SIR.—Your very fair and pretious gift came to our hand Jun. 22, 1661. "Your kind remimberance of our Common Mother and your mor than "ordinary testimonie thirof was to us al very weelcom. Indeid that excelent "and as long I have thoughte most excelent book is very fitt for a library: "nor do I think was ever any book printit of gritter pric and worth. Great "is the wordles obligation to learnit D. Waltoun for his happy labours in that "eminent service. I shal ever love and honor him therefor, though in my "last book[2] I do debait against some part of his prolegomes but in a loving "innocent and I hope altogider on-offensive way. For a demonstration of "our grit respect both to your worthy self and the considerable token of your "affection towards us I promise you, so sun as our new library shal be "perfytit, which your trusty bearer can tel he sau farr advancit, it shal stand "in the most conspicuus place of it: and in the first leaf of every volum with "a fair hand your nam shal be writen as the bountiful donor thereof to the "library: Ye for thes you are pleasit to cal your first fruits, tho never mor "should follow we shall register your name in our parchment book onc mor, "for as in the year 1644, if I remember right, I reid your nam under your "own hand in the company of divers worthy youths some of our prime "nobility and gentrie in that considerable class of Sir James Darumple so "shal you be written over again in that same parchment register in the "catalogue of our honorable benefactours and shal stand among them I

[1] *Munimenta*, iii. 434.

[2] *Opus Historicum et Chronologicum*, published posthumously at Amsterdam in 1663.

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"hope for ever. Ther is a sevenit volum[1] of that book the Dictioners yet "on the presse; when it comes off if you think expedient it may be omit with "the rest: At this tyme we shal say no mor but that we remain very sensible "of your exemplary respects to our house, wishing to you and al such publick "spirits al prosperitie & happines in name of the rest of the moderatours & "at their direction. "R. BAILY.

"Jan. 29, 1661."[2]

The other letter is addressed to Mr. William Blair, Regent of the College, and dated 26th March, 1670. The following is an excerpt from it:—

"There is a new book of Criticks[3] coming out upon the Bible, much more "methodicall and succinct than the voluminous one of Mr. Bees.[4] It is "undertaken by one Matthew Poole. It will consist of two or three volumes. "I have the first already. So soone as they are all finished, I will have them "bound up and transmitted to your Bibliotheck, for I heartily wish that pyetie "learning and ingenuity may flourish and bee encouraged amongst you; which "that it may bee is the daylie prayer, and shall bee always the endeavour of,

"SIR,

"Your and your Universities

"Most affectionate humble servant,

"JOHN SNELL."[5]

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1 Perhaps Castell's *Lexicon* (v. *infra*) which however, although already in preparation, was not published till 1669.

2 *Joint Appendix: House of Lords Appeal, Att. Gen. v. Glasgow Coll.*, decided 27th July, 1848. This letter is not among those edited by Laing. In the matter of spelling, besides the liberty of his time, Baillie used a license of his own. His editor says of him that "he could never fix on any constant way of spelling his own name." *Letters and Journals; Bannatyne Club*, 1841.

3 *Synopsis Criticorum aliorumque S. Scripturæ Interpretum operâ Matthæi Poli, Londinensis. IV Vols. fol., Lond., 1669-1676.* The fourth volume consists of two parts bound separately. In his Preface the author gives a list which he calls *Nobilis benefactorum corona quibus Patronis gloriari possum et debeo.* This list begins with the name of Sir Orlando Bridgeman.

4 Cornelius Bee was a bookseller who had published, in 1660, the *Critici Sacri*, 9 vols. fol. Having a patent for that work, he published a pamphlet called *The Case of Cornelius Bee*, accusing Poole of invading his property. The dispute was referred to arbitration and decided in favour of Poole. *Chalmers' Biog. Dict.*

5 *Munimenta*, iii. 434.

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Dr. William Thomson informs us that it appears from a former part of this letter that the writer had made a visit to Glasgow a short time previously, and that it further appears that by this time he had got at least one young Scotsman placed as a student at Oxford, and was desirous that others should be sent to him for the same purpose.[1]

The following excerpt from the University records[2] refers to the above mentioned and other gifts of books. It is probably the honourable mention in the "parchment book" promised by Baillie :—

"*Vir Clarissimus Dominus Joannes Snellius Academiae hujus meritissimus*
"*alumnus pro sua erga almam matrem gratitudine et erga rem literariam*
"*studio haec sequentia volumina Universitati in communi Bibliotheca reponenda*
"*donavit.*

"*Biblia Sacra* Πολύγλωττα *Vol. 6, Londini excusa, fol.*

"*Lexicon Orientale Hebraicum Syriacum etc. Vol. 2, fol.*[3]

"*Synopsis Criticorum etc. opera Matthaei Poli. Vol. 5, fol.*

"*Atlas Major seu Cosmographia Blauiana, etc. Vol. 11.*[4]

"*Dr. Jackson's Works. Vol. 3, fol.*[5]

"*Hammond on the Psalms. fol.*"[6]

These books are still in the University Library. The first and last contain the following inscription :—

"*Ex dono viri clarissimi D. Joannis Snellii qui emenso humaniorum literarum*
"*et philosophiae in hac Academia stadio testandae in almam matrem gratitu-*
"*dinis ac animi in rem literariam propensi ergo hoc volumen cum aliis*
"*Universitati in communi Bibliotheca reponendum donavit.*"

On the fly-leaf of the first, and both parts of the last volume of Poole's Work there is a book-plate consisting of a print of the elder Faithorne's

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1 *Deeds instituting Bursaries &c.*, p. 297.

2 *Munimenta*, iii. 435.

3 *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, by Edmund Castell, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge. Lond., 1669.

4 Blaeu's *Geographia Blaviana*. Amsterdam, 1662-5.

5 *The Works of Thomas Jackson, D.D., President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Dean of Peterborough.* Lond. 1673.

6 *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon the Books of the Psalms*, by H. Hammond, D.D. Lond., 1659.

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engraved portrait of Sir Orlando Bridgeman,[1] which is perhaps the earliest English portrait *ex libris* that has been discovered.

The following excerpt from the minutes of the Visitation by the Commissioners appointed by William and Mary, refers to another benefaction:—

"29th August, 1690, 3 o'clock, p.m. . . . . .

" . . . . . .

"Compeirt the Principall and . . declarit that the mortifications made "to the College since the year 1664 were . . . . .

"4th—By Mr. Snell thrie thousand merks impendit on the building of the steeple."[2]

But his chief title to our gratitude is contained in his Will, dated 29th December, 1677. This document is written in his own fair handwriting on the one side of six sheets of gilt-edged paper. Each sheet is subscribed by the testator, and sealed with his seal of arms, *a cross flory*, timbered with helmet and voluminous mantling, and for crest a *demi-lion rampant*. The threads with which the sheets are stitched together at the top are sealed to the first sheet in the same manner. On 6th August, 1679, the day of his death, he republished it by a note, also in his own handwriting now sadly deteriorated. In this will, which was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 13th September, 1679, he appoints for his executors his "deare and loving wife, his honoured and worthy friends, William Bridgeman, "of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, in the Countie of Middlesex, Esquire;[3] Benjamin "Cooper, Register to the University of Oxford;[4] William Hopkins of Oxford, "aforesaid, Gent.,[5] and Thomas Newcomb, Citizen and Stationer, of

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[1] For a description of this portrait see Mr. Fagan's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Engraved Works of William Faithorne*. Lond. Quaritch. 1888, pp. 23, 90.

[2] *Munimenta*, ii. 504.

[3] Probably Sir Orlando Bridgeman's nephew, who was Secretary to the Admiralty and Clerk to the Privy Council.

[4] Son of William Cooper of Hallam, Notts., pleb. Merton College, matric. 1641, aged 18; B.A. 1647; M.A. 1648; Registrar 1659-1701. His name is among those reported to the Committee of Lords and Commons on 14th July, 1648, as not submitting to the authority of Parliament. *Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford from 1647 to 1658*, by Montagu Burrows. Camden Society, 1881. p. 166.

[5] Steward of University, Oriel, Lincoln, and Wadham Colleges, ob. 1681.

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"London."[1] His bequests are—To his wife £100, and an annuity of £100 secured on Ufton, with the enjoyment of his dwelling-house in the Savoy, and the household stuff, plate and jewels therein during her widowhood. To his daughter £2000, payable when she is eighteen or married, but to be restricted to £500 if she marries without his executors' consent; also an annuity of £100 secured on Ufton, and payable on her own receipt, with a further annuity of £60 secured on Ufton, payable to her mother for the daughter's maintenance, dyet, and apparell, till she attains the age of eighteen or marries. To his nephews, Andrew Stewart, John Stewart and James Stewart, £20 a-piece, besides £20 to James to bind him to a trade. To Edmond Mason and Elizabeth Mason, his wife's nephew and niece, £20 a-piece. To his accepting executors, other than his wife, £10 a-piece to buy mourning. To his sister, Silvester Cooper, £5 to buy a ring, and to each of her children 20s. for the same purpose. To the poor of the parish of Ufton, £10. To the poor of each of the parishes of St. Clement-Danes and St. Mary-le-Savoy, £5. For repairing the Parish Church of Ufton, £50.

The residue of his estate is to be conveyed to five or more persons to be named by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, the Provost of Queen's College, the Master of Balliol, and the President of St. John's College, Oxford, for the maintenance and education in some college or hall in that University, to be appointed by the said Vice-Chancellor, Provost, Master, and President, of so many scholars as they shall think fit, not more than twelve nor less than five at any one time, unless the revenue may bear an allowance competent to maintain a greater number; which scholars shall have been born and educated in Scotland, and shall have spent three years, and two at the least at the College of Glasgow, or one year there and two at the least in some other college in the Kingdom of Scotland.

Then follows a clause which has given rise to much litigation. Each scholar is to be bound under penalty of £500 to enter into holy orders, and to take no spiritual promotion, benefice or other preferment in the Kingdom

[1] Son of Thomas Newcomb of Dunchurch, County Warwick, yeoman. He was printer to Charles II.: ob. 26th December, 1681, aged 54. There is a marble monument to him in the chancel of Dunchurch.

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of England or Dominion of Wales, it being the testator's will and desire that every such scholar shall return to Scotland, there to be preferred or advanced as his capacity and parts shall deserve, but in no case to come back into England, nor to go into any other place, but only into the Kingdom of Scotland for his preferment. And none of the scholars are to take any benefit of the bequest above the space of ten years, or eleven at the most; for after that time they are, and it is the testator's "express will and desire "that they shall and may be removed into Scotland as aforesaid."

Then follow directions for the filling up of vacancies, and the will goes on to provide that before admittance the scholars shall be recommended by the Principal, the Professor of Divinity, Regents, and other chief officers of the College of Glasgow, or any three of them, whereof the Principal to be one, by their letters recommendatory under their college seal.

It is then provided that every scholar shall come as a probationer to such college or hall whereunto he shall be appointed, and shall there continue at his own charges for six months at least to give evidence of his behaviour, learning and abilities, before he shall be admitted to receive any benefit of the devise, and shall then be allowed and admitted or disallowed, according to the discretion of the persons appointed for that purpose.

The allowance for each scholar is fixed at £20 a year for the first three years, and £30 a year thereafter; but if the estate will bear a greater allowance the scholars are to have the benefit of it.

The Registrar of the University of Oxford or other person appointed for the purpose is to receive £10 a year for making up the bonds or indemnities and seeing them duly executed, the charges of any suit for recovering the penalties are to be paid out of the moneys recovered, and the remainder is to be laid out upon some good security until it shall amount to some competent sum to purchase lands of inheritance for an increase of the exhibitions.

Provision is made for the appointment of new Trustees.

An audit dinner is to be provided every Midsummer Day for the Vice-Chancellor, Provost, Master and President, and the three senior scholars, at a cost of £5.

Five of the choicest and ablest scholars are to receive £5 a-piece yearly more than the rest.

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The last bequest is a year's wages to every one of the testator's menial servants, over and above the wages due to them.

When the testator died, the annual value of his lands of Ufton was £450.[1]

For more than ten years after the testator's death, no active steps appear to have been taken to have the residue of his estate applied in terms of his will; but on 5th April, 1690, a Bill for that purpose was introduced into the House of Commons. It was thrown out, however, after first reading.[2] In August, 1690, an information was filed in the Court of Chancery at the relation of the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, and the heads of Queen's, Balliol, and St. John's Colleges, against William Guise, and Dorothy his wife, and the executors under the will, (including Sir John Bridgeman, the Lord Keeper's son, who appears to have been assumed), suggesting a pretence by William Guise, that in regard Episcopacy and Prelacy were then abolished in Scotland, and Presbyterian church government established, the testator's intentions were frustrated, and the devise void, and that the estate had reverted to Dorothy Guise, the testator's daughter. The cause came on for hearing in May, 1692, when the Lords Commissioners determined that the heiress-at-law could take nothing, and ordered accounts to be taken of the estate, and the court would give further directions as to its disposal. Afterwards, on 23rd June, 1693, the executors were ordained by Lord Keeper Somers to convey the estate to the Six Senior Fellows of Balliol College, to whom various directions were given for managing and letting the estate, and clearing off incumbrances, and they were ordered to apply the surplus rents towards establishing the charity, subject to such alteration as the court should from time to time make, on application by any person concerned, for the better execution of the trust, and as near as could be to the testator's will and intention.[3] In pursuance of which order the lands were conveyed to the Six Senior Fellows of Balliol. In 1699, notice of the decree was given by Balliol College to Glasgow University, and a demand made to recommend scholars.[4]

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1 Wood's *Athenæ*.

2 *Commons' Journals*, 5th and 23rd April, 1690.

3 *Att. Gen.* v. *Guise*. 2 *Vernon*, 266: Edn. 1806.

4 *Att. Gen.* v. *Balliol College*; 9 *Mod.* 408.

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In 1738, an information was filed at the relation of the Principal and several of the Professors of Glasgow, against the Master, Scholars, and Six Senior Fellows of Balliol, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, the Provost of Queen's, and President of St. John's, praying that the manner of administering the trust might be altered, and on 10th December, 1744, Lord Hardwicke ordered a new scheme or schemes to be laid before one of the Masters in Chancery.[1] Three schemes were accordingly submitted, one by the relators, a second by the Master and Scholars of Balliol, and a third by the Vice-Chancellor, Provost of Queen's, and President of St. John's, and Master of Balliol, which last submitted that every scholar having an exhibition from the charity, should conform to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and enter into holy orders when capable thereof, or forfeit his exhibition. None of the proposed schemes contained any provision for the return of the exhibitioners into Scotland. From the schemes laid before him, the Master in Chancery prepared one general scheme which he conceived best answered the purposes of the charity and came nearest to the will and intention of the testator. The Vice-Chancellor and other propounders of the third scheme took exception to this general scheme, but their exceptions were overruled, and on 23rd March, 1759, Lord Keeper Henley pronounced a decree, omitting all restraint as to conformity and ordination. This decree provided for the appointment of a steward, who, after making sundry payments, should hand over the remainder of the revenue to the Master and Scholars of Balliol College, to be applied for the maintenance and education of the scholars of the charity, at the rate of £70 a year to five of the ablest, and £65 a year to the rest. Previous to this decree, the number of scholars holding exhibitions at one time was six, and the decree provided that six should continue to be the number, unless the advanced rents should yield above £70 to each, in which case one more should be added. The period of tenure was fixed at eight, nine, ten, or eleven years.[2]

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[1] *Att. Gen.* v. *Balliol College*; 9 *Mod.* 407.

[2] In the course of this suit, "a point was made to have the exhibitions removed. A peevish "answer was put in, and they said they would have nothing to do with the exhibitions. "Lord Northington gave them time to consider it, and they repented." 3 *Vesey*, 650 *n*

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In 1777 two more scholars were added to the number, and again two more in 1795, when the annual amount payable to each was fixed at £70, and the period of tenure at ten years; and it was also provided that the exhibitions should be forfeited on marriage or the acceptance of any ecclesiastical benefice in England or Wales, or any office in the army or navy. Some other allowances were also increased, including the cost of the annual dinner which was raised to £10.

By order of 15th March, 1810, the annual value of each exhibition was increased to £133 6s. 8d., because of the "depreciation of the value of money, "and the increased and still increasing expense of academical education, as "well as of every necessary and comfort of life," in consequence of which, for the four previous years, much difficulty had been experienced by Glasgow University in finding suitable persons to accept the exhibitions, six nominations had lapsed to Balliol College, and that society had also found it hard to fill the vacancies. The order bears that the sum of £133 6s. 8d. was fixed on, in order that, after deducting property tax at 10 per cent., there might be left an net income of £120.

In 1845 an information was filed in the Court of Chancery at the relation of John Hay Forbes, one of the Judges of the Court of Session with the title of Lord Medwyn and James Robert Hope, who afterwards, having married the grand-daughter of Sir Walter Scott, assumed the name of Scott, and was well known as Mr. Hope Scott, Q.C., an eminent parliamentary counsel. On 24th July, 1846, Vice-Chancellor Knight Bruce pronounced the following decree:—"Refer to the Master to inquire whether consistently with the law "of Scotland the scheme according to which, under the decree or decreetal "order of 1759 and the subsequent orders of 1777, 1795, and 1810, the "charity founded by the testator's will is administered, can be modified or "varied so as to make such charity more effectually conducive to the supply "of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Scotland with fit and competent "clergymen, who having been born in Scotland and educated wholly or in "part at Glasgow and Oxford, shall exercise their clerical functions in "Scotland; and if the Master shall be of opinion in the affirmative, he is "to approve of a scheme for such purpose."[1] The Principal and Professors

[1] *Att. Gen.* v. *Glasgow Coll.* 2 *Collyer* 665 *et seq.*

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of Glasgow appealed against this decree, and the appeal having been heard by Lord-Chancellor Cottenham and Lords Brougham and Campbell, the House of Lords, on 27th July, 1848, ordered the decree complained of to be reversed and the information to be dismissed with costs.[1]

The exhibitioners are now elected under a scheme settled in the Court of Chancery in 1872, in which their number was limited to fourteen, and the tenure to five years. But by Agreement of 2nd April, 1878, under the provisions of the same scheme, the stipend of each exhibitioner was fixed at £132. Until 31st December, 1880, the greatest number of exhibitioners was to be twelve; from that date till 31st December, 1881, eleven; and thereafter ten.[2] But the foundation has now fallen among evil days and is suffering severely from the agricultural depression. It is at present administered in terms of an Agreement of date 21st January, 1886, by which the annual value of each exhibition is reduced to £80. The exhibitions are tenable for five years; but the whole amount of £400 is to be paid in equal sums during the first three years, it being, however, in the discretion of the Master and Fellows of Balliol College to retain a moiety of the last annual payment until the exhibitioner has graduated. Candidates or their fathers must have been born in Scotland. They are not eligible if they have been members of the University of Oxford for more than a year, nor more than once after they are twenty-three years of age. The present number of exhibitioners is only four.[3]

The benefit which has accrued to Glasgow and to learning from these exhibitions has been great. Among the Snell Scholars are some of the names which we hold in highest honour. Any roll would be distinguished which included Adam Smith and John Inglis. It must be borne in mind also that Snell is to be remembered with gratitude not only for those who obtained, but for those who came to us in the hope of obtaining the coveted prize. Of this class was Francis Jeffrey. "I believe," says his biographer, "that Glasgow was preferred with a view to the Oxford Exhibitions,

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1 1 *Clark & Finnelly*, 800.

2 *University Calendar.*

3 *Ibid.*

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"to which it has long owed so many of its best students, and of which it has "in general made so fair a use. None of our other colleges have such "academic prizes. If there be any rich Scotchman who is now thinking of "perpetuating his name by public munificence, let him not waste himself on "hospitals or such common objects, but let him think of the depressing "poverty of his native colleges, and of the honour which a long roll of distin-"guished men receiving the higher part of their education through his bounty, "has for a century and a half conferred on the founder of the Glasgow "Exhibitions."[1]

Any reader of the founder's will must observe that one cherished purpose has been frustrated. The disestablishment of Episcopacy, or, as the reporter[2] expresses it, "the settlement of Presbyters" in Scotland, has made it impossible to enforce the obligation that the scholars should enter into holy orders and return to Scotland for preferment. As a consequence, by far the greater number of those who have adopted the clerical profession have added their learning to the already large endowment of the Church of England. Among such have been John Douglas, Bishop of Salisbury, the friend of Johnson and Goldsmith, described by the latter as "the scourge of imposters, the terror of quacks," and Archbishop Tait, the only Scot who ever sat on St. Augustine's throne.

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1 *Life of Lord Jeffrey*, by Lord Cockburn. i. 89.

2 *Vernon*, ii. 266.

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No. XVIII.

THE MAUSOLEUM AT HALICARNASSOS.

ADDRESS

BY

A. S. MURRAY, LL.D., F.S.A.,

KEEPER OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES, BRITISH MUSEUM.

[*Delivered at a Meeting of the Society held on 18th January, 1894.*]

In one of his Dialogues, Lucian imagines an interview in the Shades between Diogenes (the Cynic) and Mausolos, in which Diogenes asks the Carian prince why he looked down so much on the rest of them. Mausolos gave various reasons for his pride, but chiefly the fact that he had a tomb at Halicarnassos of greater size and beauty than any other mortal possessed, it being sculptured, he said, with horses and men in the exactest similitude and in the finest marble. It is this tomb, or Mausoleum, as it was called, that we are now to consider.

Let us take first its history in comparatively modern times. In 1402, when the Knights of St. John were driven from Jerusalem, they obtained leave from the Sultan of Turkey to build a fortress on the site of the ancient Halicarnassos, then, as now, called Budrum. They appear to have helped themselves freely to the finely worked blocks of marble among the Greek ruins, including those of the Mausoleum. At all events, we know that when rather more than a century later, in 1552, the knights were obliged to strengthen the fortress, they certainly made use of that building. A French chronicler of the period tells us how the knights "then found no more "suitable material to make lime of, or more easily got, than certain steps "of white marble, raised in the form of a terrace, in the middle of a level "field near the port. . . . After four or five days, having laid bare a great "space, one afternoon they saw an opening as into a cellar. Taking a

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"candle, they let themselves down through the opening, and found that it led "into a fine large square apartment, ornamented all round with columns of "marble, with their bases, capitals, architrave, frieze, and cornice engraved "and sculptured in high relief." Penetrating further, they came upon the sepulchre proper of Mausolos, and then the chronicler concludes: "It was "thus," he says, "that this magnificent tomb, which ranked among the seven "wonders of the world, after having escaped the fury of the barbarians "and remained standing for the space of 2,247 years, was discovered and "destroyed to repair the castle of St. Peter by the Knights of Rhodes, who "immediately after this were driven completely out of Asia by the Turks.

Two centuries later an English artist, Dalton, visited Budrum and was admitted into the fortress, where he saw let into the walls thirteen sculptured marble slabs. These he made drawings of and published. That was in 1751-1781. Nothing more was done till 1846, when Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, then ambassador at Constantinople, persuaded the Sultan to allow him to remove the thirteen slabs and present them to the British Museum. Their arrival attracted a good deal of attention, and had among other things the effect of exciting in Mr. (now Sir) Charles Newton a strong desire to go to Halicarnassos and explore fully the site of the Mausoleum, which he did with the assistance of the Government in the years 1856-7. The destruction, he found, had been very thorough, first apparently through an earthquake and afterwards by the knights of St. John, as we have seen. But there still remained a rich harvest of sculptured and architectural members for him to bring home to the British Museum. A number of years elapsed before they could be fully and adequately exhibited. Indeed, the arrangement of the great room, where they are now placed, has only been completed within the last few weeks, and that is one of the reasons why I thought that the Mausoleum would be a not inappropriate subject for to-night.

But the brief outline I have just given of the modern history of that building would not be complete without a notice of the fact, that the references to the Mausoleum in ancient literature, especially the description of it given by Pliny, had tempted some of the greatest of English architects to sketch a restoration of it. Even Sir Christopher Wren, amid all his activity, found time to do this. You will find his sketch published in his "Parentalia." Later on,

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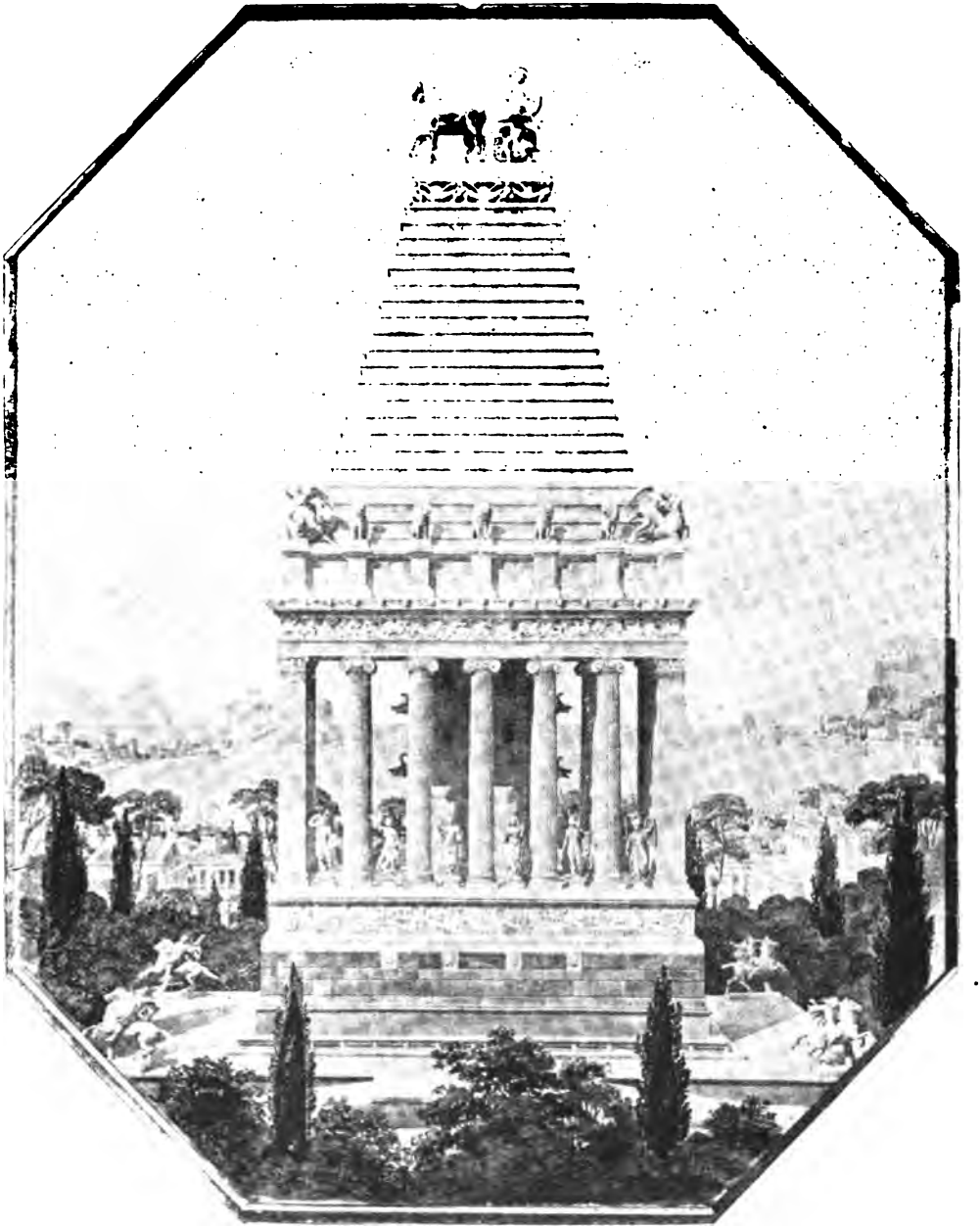

MAUSOLEUM AT HALICARNASSOS. PLATE I.

RESTORATION OF THE MAUSOLEUM.

FROM A WATER COLOUR DRAWING BY PROFESSOR COCKERELL, R.A.

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Hawksmoor, under the influence of his master, Wren, boldly introduced some of the features of the Mausoleum into his church of St. George, Bloomsbury, (1720-30), which, as some of you may remember, has a high pyramidal roof surmounted by a colossal statue. Curiously enough, as I have heard it remarked, St. George's, Bloomsbury, is within a stone's throw of the British Museum where, so long after, the actual remains of the Mausoleum came to be deposited. The next attempt at a restoration was by Prof. Cockerell, who, from his early travels and discoveries in Greece, together with his fine artistic nature, knew the spirit of Greek architecture better than anyone. When he made his first sketch, nothing was known of the actual remains, except the sculptured slabs which had been obtained for the Museum from the Sultan. Subsequently, when some of the sculptures discovered by Sir Charles Newton had reached the Museum, he made certain slight modifications, and produced, with the help of his son, the lovely water-colour drawing, of which you have here a photograph. (Plate I.)

I need not mention the restorations of Newton and Pullan, nor of Fergusson and others, though these gentlemen had the advantage of seeing the actual remains. Their restorations have not the least artistic merit. What puzzled them, as it puzzled Wren and Cockerell, was the ancient description of the Mausoleum which we find in Pliny, and, in particular, the dimensions of height which he assigns to it. Here is Newton's translation: "In the same period Scopas had as rivals Bryaxis, Timotheos, and Leochares, "whom I would mention together as they were associated in the work of "decorating the Mausoleum with sculpture. On the south and north the "Mausoleum extends 63 feet, being shorter in the fronts. Its entire "circumference is 411 feet. It is raised in height (25 cubits) 37½ feet; "round it are 36 columns; the part surrounding the tomb was called the "pteron; the sculpture on the east side was by Scopas, on the north by "Bryaxis, on the south by Timotheos, on the west by Leochares. Before "these artists had terminated their labours, Queen Artemisia died, but they "did not cease from their work till it was completely finished, regarding it as "a monument of their own fame and art. To this day it is a matter of "dispute which of those masterpieces is the finest. With these sculptors a "fifth artist was associated. For above the pteron a pyramid equalled the

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"lower part[1] in height; contracting by twenty-four steps to a point like that "of a meta (or goal in the circus-race). On the summit is a marble chariot "with four horses, the work of Pythios. The addition of this made the "height of the entire work, 140 feet." So far Pliny.

You will observe that after giving 37½ feet as the height of the colonnade and the same dimensions as the height of the pyramid above, thus making 75 feet in all, he mentions nothing to increase that dimension except the chariot group on the top, and yet, after speaking of that group, he gives the entire height of the building as 140 feet, almost double the dimension he had just arrived at. Now, we know from the remains that the actual height of the columns and entablature agrees very well with the measurement of Pliny, viz., 37½ feet. We possess also a number of the steps of the pyramidal roof, and may reasonably infer that twenty-four of them, which is the number he gives, would only make up a height of something less than 24 feet. Pliny must, therefore, have included the chariot when he said that the pyramid was as high as the columns and entablature, *i.e.*, 37½ feet.

The only explanation I can suggest is that, having doubled his first dimension of 37½ feet, without however setting down the result in figures, he came back at the end of his description to the question of the total height, and re-doubled what he had doubled before. That would just about give him his 140 feet. There would be nothing very extraordinary, perhaps, in a building 140 feet high. But then Pliny has given us what is proved to be a fairly exact measurement of the height of the columns, entablature, pyramidal roof, and chariot, amounting in all to 75 feet, and the question is how to attain the missing 65 feet. Wren was obliged to introduce, between his colonnade and his pyramid, a lofty and very unsightly base of plain masonry. Cockerell had to elongate his columns far beyond their true dimensions, to introduce an attic with figures of lions, and to largely increase the height of his pyramid; while Newton and Pullan took the simple method of raising the building on an immense basement, 65 feet high, of which they found no remains, as far as

[1] For "part," Mr. Oldfield reads 'pyramid' in a memoir communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, London, since this address was delivered. His argument is, that the actual tomb consisted of a hollow pyramid, above which were, first, the pteron, and, next, the roof in the shape of a pyramid.

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they could see, for certain. They did it solely as a concession to Pliny's 140 feet, which they might very well have abandoned as a mistake, remembering that the only other ancient writer who mentions the height of the Mausoleum gives it as 80 feet. That is Hyginus, who, though he does not speak of it with the circumstantiality of Pliny, may yet have retained the true measurement. At all events, the discovery of the ruins by Sir Charles Newton has shown that those 65 feet, if they are to be adhered to, cannot be allowed to modify the proportions of the building itself, as in the restorations of Wren and Cockerell. That is a very great gain. It reduces the problem to whether or not we can imagine a building, the very base of which was higher than the Parthenon.

Who, then, was this Mausolos whose tomb was so much of a marvel to the ancients? He was a prince who ruled over the not very extensive country of Caria in the south-west corner of Asia Minor. That was during the years 377-353 B.C. Only one or two incidents are recorded of him personally, and they go to show that his rule was somewhat oppressive, especially in his schemes for increasing taxation and enriching his new capital of Halicarnassos with a fine palace and, doubtless, other public buildings, so that when he died, it is not improbable that the only one who mourned for him was his queen Artemisia. She, indeed, grieved his loss deeply, even to the extent, it is said, of mixing his ashes in water and drinking them daily. That may be an exaggeration, a mere fable, but there is no doubt that after several years of reign in her own right, she died of prolonged grief at the death of her husband, Mausolos, even before she could see completed the great monument which she had planned to be placed over his tomb. During her brief reign she showed herself a woman of ability and resource, on one occasion commanding her own fleet and winning a conspicuous victory. We are not in the least surprised to find her, pure Carian as she was by birth, inviting the best known Greek sculptors of the day to carry out the tomb. The best art attainable would not be too good for her purpose. But in connection with the artists whom she selected it is curious and interesting to observe that one of them, Bryaxis, was by birth of her own nationality. We are not told so by any ancient writer, but his name is as purely Carian as Macgregor is Scotch. We know, also, that he had studied in Athens, where, only a year or so ago, a monument sculptured by him, and signed with his name, was found in the

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course of excavations. Not improbably Artemisia had communicated first with him; and it may well have been through his influence that Scopas, who appears to have been his master and was then one of the most famous of Greek sculptors, was persuaded to give his services to the semi-barbarous Queen. That also might help to explain why the sculptors finished their work after her death at their own expense. Pliny says they did so for their own fame; but the patriotism of Bryaxis may have helped them to their decision.

But now turning to the remains of the Mausoleum, the first thing that strikes us is its high pyramidal roof, with its surmounting group of a chariot with four horses. Nothing of this kind is known in pure Greek architecture of a date older than the Mausoleum—there are a number of miniature copies of it in later art—yet the architect, Pythios, was certainly a Greek. The nearest analogy I know of is in one or two almost primitive tombs in the neighbouring island of Rhodes. These tombs were dug into a hill-side and were supported from the inside with a pyramidal ceiling of masonry, and it is conceivable that the design of the architect of the Mausoleum was to transfer that primitive idea into a tomb standing in the open air. But there may have been other influences at work: Mausolos and Artemisia had not been independent rulers. They owed allegiance, as their ancestors had done, to the king of Persia, and it is quite possible that to Artemisia's mind an indispensable element in the tomb was a lofty pyramid such as seems to have been associated with the monuments of Assyrian and Persian monarchs. Even so near at hand as the city of Tarsus, she might have seen the tomb of Sardanapalos, which, as we know from coins of that city, was in the shape of a lofty pyramid. The geographer, Strabo, says that it stood at a place called Anchiale, near Tarsus; that there was sculptured on it a figure having the fingers of his right hand bent as if he were snapping them, and that the sculpture was accompanied by an inscription in Assyrian characters to this effect: "Sardanapalos built Anchiale and Tarsus in one day, eat, drink, and "be merry; the rest is not worth that," meaning a snap of the fingers, such as was represented in the sculpture. The inscription is often mentioned by ancient writers.

It is true that the coins just referred to belong to a period considerably

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later than the Mausoleum. But there is no doubt that they represent a monument of remote antiquity, the influence of which was to be traced in an annual ceremony in the town of Tarsus, consisting in the erection of a funeral pyre to commemorate the death of Heracles, as they said, not of Sardanapalos. The conclusion we may fairly draw is that the pyramidal roof of the Mausoleum had been derived from an Assyrian or Persian idea of what was the proper form of tomb for a great prince, and that it was in effect an artistic symbol of the funeral pyre on which his body had been burnt. Not many years after, Alexander the Great erected in Babylon itself a gigantic pyre to his general, Hephæstion, and if it took the form of a pyramid, rising by six tiers, and lavishly enriched with sculptures, as we know it did, we may fairly conclude that in the form of a pyre he had followed the custom of the country where he was. We know, also, that his example descended to the Roman emperors, whose huge and expensive funeral pyres we see on the coins.

The mention of these Roman imperial pyres leads me to the consideration of another point. You will see on the apex of some of them a chariot group, which is explained as representing the apotheosis of the emperor, that is to say, his journey from earth to the abode of the gods, in which case the horses are very properly in the act of careering up into space. But this idea of an apotheosis, however appropriate to the Romans in late times, was in a great measure foreign to the Greek mind. Be this as it may, we know for certain that the horses of the Mausoleum were not in the act of rushing upwards through the air. We possess the forehand of one of the colossal horses, and he is obviously standing still. We have also the hind quarters of another of these horses, and he has been slightly restive, as would naturally enough happen just before the start. Clearly, if one horse were standing still, no amount of restiveness in the others would make the chariot move forward.

Now it happens that on Greek painted vases, older than the date of Mausolos, a frequent design is that of a marriage chariot, as it is called. A typical example occurs on a vase in the Louvre, where we see the marriage chariot of Zeus and Hera, she standing on his right hand and holding the reins ready to drive, when the horses start as they are about to do. We can well suppose that in her inconsolable grief Artemisia had thought of her marriage chariot and had decided to crown the monument with a repre-

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sentation of it, bearing herself and Mausolos, on the analogy of Zeus and Hera, and just about to start. But in spite of the stationary attitude of the horses and the analogous scenes on the vases, archæologists have mostly imagined the chariot of Mausolos as careering through the unknown. Once committed to this view they soon found that there was no corresponding movement in the drapery of the two statues, and that finally the statues could not have belonged to the chariot. It was a very proper climax to this method of arguing, when a learned Professor announced that as Pliny merely mentions the marble chariot without a word of any persons in it, the chariot was probably empty; much as if the expression "carriages at ten" might mean carriages without coachmen. There is not a particle of support for such an idea.

Another argument that has been raised is that the statues of Mausolos and Artemisia are smaller in scale than the horses. Certainly the horses are very large, so much so that an old lady is said to have asked the attendant in the room whether they were not fossils. So far as I can see there is only one satisfactory test of scale in this instance, and that is to measure the head of Mausolos against the head of the horse, and compare the result with acknowledged standards, such as the head of the Theseus of the Parthenon measured against the horse beside him; or the head of an ordinary man measured against an ordinary horse. The comparison stands thus:—

Mausolos 15″	Theseus 12″	Man 9″
Horse 41″	Horse 31½″	Horse 24″

That is to say, in each case the head of the man goes close on three times in the head of the horse. That test, therefore, holds good. But the fact is that archæologists are mostly accustomed to sculpture in relief where there is hardly ever a due proportion between the size of the rider and the size of the horse, and where the constant aim was to avoid realism in the general effect of the composition. Nothing brings this home to us more forcibly than to compare the size of an actual carriage horse with that of the driver. We see at once that he is a mere mite in comparison with the horse. It is important also to remember that the two statues of Mausolos and Artemisia were found along with the horses and a number of steps of the pyramid in a separate heap of ruins which Sir Charles Newton says "had evidently never been disturbed

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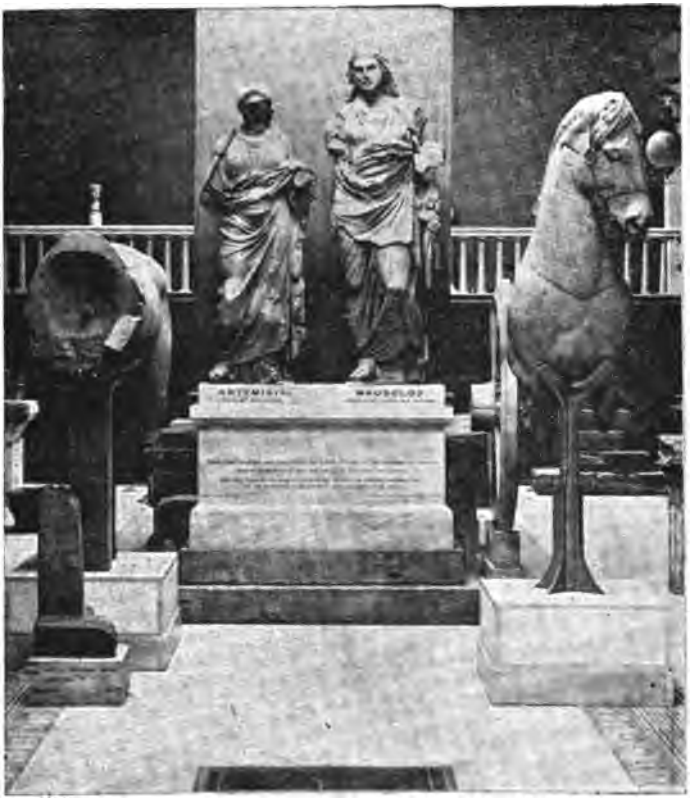

MAUSOLEUM AT HALICARNASSOS. PLATE II.

REMAINS OF QUADRIGA WHICH SURMOUNTED THE MAUSOLEUM AND STATUES OF MAUSOLOS AND ARTEMISIA.

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since they first fell from the building. It is evident," he adds, "that an earthquake or equivalent force must have rent asunder the pyramid, hurling a portion of the chariot group, and of the steps on which it rested, over the marble walls." Again it is noticeable that on the left side of Mausolos his drapery has been cut away from above the knee down to the foot, and, as this somewhat rough cutting reaches up to just where the wheel of the chariot would come, we may suppose that the cutting had been made to get the statue into its place in the chariot. This fact did not escape Sir Charles Newton.

The remains of the chariot group having now been placed together in what appears to have been their relative position, we have an opportunity of observing how much the two statues have gained in artistic effect by being ranged side by side (Plate II.). In attitude the one responds to the other in a measure which clearly shows that the sculptor had meant them to form a group with Artemisia on the right of Mausolos, as was usual for the driver, according to ancient Greek custom, as it is with us to-day. We can see that both her hands had been extended in front, in the act of holding the reins. You will observe that the right leg of Artemisia is advanced, so as to balance the left leg of Mausolos and thus produce strongly defined lateral limits for the group: while again the two statues are closely linked together by a paralellism between the fine series of folds which start from the advanced foot of Artemisia and the retreating foot of Mausolos, and run upwards in the same direction in both statues. Again, if you examine closely the detailed treatment of the draperies, as in the numerous indications of texture and in the crinkling of the material, you will see so close a resemblance that you will be compelled to imagine the sculptor working on the two statues simultaneously—an hour on the one, an hour on the other. The face of Mausolos is a very fine example of Greek portraiture. His long hair and very short beard indicate his Carian and semi-barbarous descent: but the face itself shows that the colony of Greeks, so long settled at Halicarnassos, had not been without influence on him. We can imagine him a man worthy of a great tomb, and, as regards the group altogether, we must allow that it is a noble monument of Greek sculpture. It may no doubt be said that though the two statues form a group very admirably, yet the group need not have stood in the chariot

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on the top of the building. But I would reply first, that to my mind the greatest artistic gain which the statues have received from their present position has been from the manner in which the large simple masses of the horses have accentuated and refined the draperies of the statues; and secondly, that a statue of Mausolos at least must have been in the chariot. Strangely enough the chariot was not the work of any one of the four special sculptors employed on the Mausoleum, but of the architect Pythios, of whom it may here be said that he by no means neglected his architecture for the sake of indulging in sculpture. On the contrary, the exquisite beauty of the architectural details of the Mausoleum imply a continuous and careful supervision on the part of Pythios.

Possibly it was his love of sculpture that led him to do, what appears to have been, at least, a very rare thing then, viz.: to introduce panels sculptured in low relief in the ceiling of the colonnade. Sir Charles Newton had brought home parts of four square panels for which neither he nor anyone else could find a satisfactory place in the building. But in making our restoration of one of the columns, with the ceiling behind it, I noticed that the lacunar or coffer had a square opening at the top, which must have been covered with a marble slab, and it occurred to me that one of these problematical sculptured panels would just cover the opening, each of the panels having a pretty wide plain border on which it would rest and be kept in position. That proved to be right. You have here a drawing of one of the lacunaria or coffers, with one of the fragmentary panels in position (Plate III.). As you may be aware it was not uncommon in later Greek and Roman art to sculpture the coffers of ceilings in low relief. A striking example is the ceiling which was found in Rome some years ago in the Farnesina Gardens, and is now exhibited in the new museum at the Baths of Diocletian. But we have also in the British Museum an example on a small scale which may be older than the Mausoleum.

If you will turn now to Cockerell's drawing you will see that he places a narrow sculptural frieze above the columns. That is technically called the frieze of the order. Of it we possess altogether 18 slabs. Among these, certain differences of style are plainly recognisable, and I need hardly say that our German friends have separated the slabs into four different sets, each

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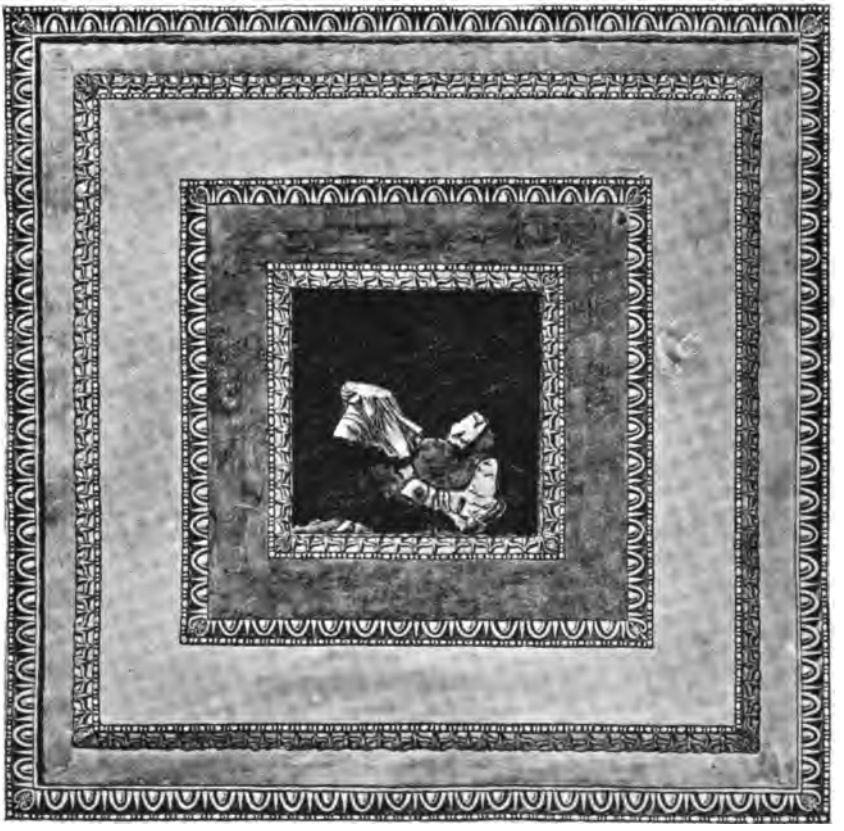

MAUSOLEUM AT HALICARNASSOS. PLATE III.

LACUNAR WITH FRAGMENT OF PANEL.

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MAUSOLEUM AT HALICARNASSOS. PLATE IV.

SLABS FROM FRIEZE.

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answering to the style of one of the four sculptors who, according to Pliny, took each a separate side of the building to work upon. If our friends would agree among themselves, we would perhaps gladly follow them. But this they are very far from doing. They are, however, fairly unanimous in one important point, viz.: in assigning to the sculptor, Scopas, the finely preserved slabs found by Newton, and believed by him also to be the work of Scopas. You have here a drawing of one of these slabs (Plate IV.), from which you may reasonably judge that the sculpture is beautiful in composition, full of movement, yet always preserving much of the dignity of the best age, inclined a little towards novelty in some of the motives; as in the Amazon who has thrown herself clean round on her horse; thus, like Euripides in his dramas, startling and captivating us by the unexpectedness of the action. No doubt the difference in style between this slab and the Parthenon frieze is immense. But the spirit of the age had changed short as was the time. It now demanded novelty, and though the sculptor has conceded something in that direction, we must yet allow that he has retained much of the older beauty and dignity in his individual figures, whether he was Scopas, as has been generally supposed, or one of his three colleagues Bryaxis, Leochares or Timotheos.

It would, however, be almost useless to discuss the differences of style that exist between these slabs found by Newton and the others, except in the Mausoleum room itself. But I may mention that among the non-Newtonian slabs there are several which could not have been placed on the same side of the building as those found by him, though they are obviously part of the same frieze, presenting a continuation of the subject—a battle between Greeks and Amazons, and having similar architectural mouldings. The slabs I am referring to are characterised by an enormous prolongation of the proportions of the figures, and by a wild florid treatment of the draperies. These, at least, we feel sure could not have been by Scopas, nor we believe by Bryaxis, who appears to have been his pupil. Of Leochares we know too little to father them on him, though it is not impossible that he was to blame for these slabs. There remains only Timotheos, and certainly he would be acquitted if it could be conclusively shown that the sculptures discovered some years ago at Epidauros were by him. That he had been employed on the temple at Epidauros, from which the sculptures in question were obtained,

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is explicitly stated in an inscription found on the spot; but the inscription mentions also other sculptors who were equally employed on the temple at the same time, and though it specifies in a way the work done by Timotheos and the payment he received for it, we are yet left more or less in doubt whether the now recovered sculptures actually came from the particular part of the temple on which he was engaged.

But, to return to Scopas, I should remind you that up to now our knowledge of him has been confined to ancient literary records and to two marble heads, with some other fragments which have been found belonging to a temple at Tegea, in Arcadia, of which he was at once the sculptor and the architect. One of these heads has been broken in two, and when I was at Tegea, some years ago, one of the halves was built into the wall of a house over the door. The two halves have been since united, and we possess now in that single head our best evidence of the style of Scopas. It answers admirably to what the ancient records have taught us to expect from him, and I cannot forget the vivid resemblance which the two parts of the head at Tegea presented in my mind to a figure of a charioteer in another of the Mausoleum friezes. The frieze I am now referring to has been preserved in a sadly, fragmentary condition, but, fortunately, one of the charioteers is almost perfect. You have here a full-size photograph of that figure (Plate V.), and will observe how expressive the face is of eagerness. The eye is deeply set and round; the cheek-bones are strongly marked; the line of the jaw has an almost anatomical squareness, as if the anxiety of the race had pressed it into prominence. The clear cut ear is beautiful, and if some tresses are allowed to cross and conceal the top of it, that must have been to help in suggesting the rapidity of the chariot. The throat is intensely marked, and, in short, we must admit that the head is extremely fine in style; in fact, the nearest approach we can find to the Scopas-head at Tegea, with its singular vividness and earnestness of expression.

The frieze to which this figure belongs is of very fine Parian marble, as compared with the frieze of the order, which is of a coarse marble. The relief is lower and flatter, suggesting that the chariot frieze had been placed somewhere away from direct light, like the frieze of the Parthenon up under the colonnade. So, also, it may have been from considerations of lighting

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MAUSOLEUM AT HALICARNASSOS PLATE V.

FIGURE OF CHARIOTEER.

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MAUSOLEUM AT HALICARNASSOS. PLATE VI.

MARBLE COLUMN FROM COLONNADE, WITH ENTABLATURE AND PART OF CEILING.

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that the relief is made to cover the background more continuously than the Amazons and Greeks, and thus again to present a comparison with the Parthenon frieze. From some of the remains, it appears that the chariot frieze had been protected from the weather. The colours are still to be seen fresh on a piece of the flat ogee moulding which ran along the bottom of the slabs. This moulding is very unusual in form, and would of itself suggest that the frieze had been placed along the top of the *cella* as in the Parthenon, or in some analogous position.

In speaking of a *cella* wall for the Mausoleum I am following Newton and Pullan. Their view is confirmed by a great marble beam which we possess, and have employed in our restoration of part of the ceiling of the colonnade (Plate VI.). That beam has one of its ends roughened to the extent of two feet, for the evident purpose of being let into a wall. Had that end rested on an inner architrave, as does the other end, then it would certainly not have been roughened as it is. I am aware that for all this there are some who do not accept the cella. To them the reference of Martial (Lib. spect, 1.), *äere vacuo pendentia Mausolea*—"Mausoleums hanging in mid-air." . . . . . presupposes a building which was open under the roof and not enclosed with cella; such a building, in fact, as you see in Cockerell's restoration. But even on that view there would probably have been an inner set of strong piers, towards the top of which the chariots may have been placed. I think, however, that most is to be said for the cella theory. We then get our chariots into a continuous line, one racing after the other at full speed. The remains of 8 or 9 of them have been preserved, but they are all sadly mutilated except this one. How many there may have been we cannot say, nor can we be certain that the whole frieze consisted of racing chariots alone. The general explanation is that the chariots were intended to represent the races which are supposed to have been held at the obsequies of Mausolos. His body was burnt like that of a Homeric hero, and, as at the funeral of Patroclos, athletic games had been held, there would very probably have been similiar games at the obsequies of Mausolos. We learn incidentally of competitions in music and oratory which took place then, and we may fairly assume that the games were not omitted. On that view, we should expect to see on the frieze representations of running, leaping, wrestling, boxing and spear-throwing.

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There is no such thing. The numerous fragments all belong to chariots. Of course, it is always possible to argue that our remains come all from one side, or nearly so, of the Mausoleum, and that on the other sides had been representations of the other contests much as we see them on an archaic Greek vase (Mon. dell' Inst. x. pl. 5.), on which are figured the obsequies at the funeral of Pelias. A mere chariot race without other games would not have been true to Greek tradition, and certainly, from an artistic point of view, it would have been in a high degree monotonous, supposing it to have extended round all the four sides of the building. One would rather believe that it had been like the chariots on the Parthenon, confined to a particular section of the frieze, and that it is the remains of this section which we happen to possess. I should add, as regards the charioteer, that the long flowing dress, which makes him look like a girl, was the prescribed dress of his occupation, and that the long hair which he wears fastened up like a girl's was probably also a necessary part of his appearance, at all events, in public competitions. In the musical contests also, the competitors were similarly obliged to wear female costume.

After this brief survey, let us consider what we, of the present day, have gained by the possession of the remains of the Mausoleum. For one thing, we have recovered enough to understand fairly well one of the seven wonders of the world, and have thereby closed to a considerable extent a source of more or less useless speculation, which would have been sure to go on flowing as in the past. It is a great gain to have got done once for all with the main problems of the Mausoleum, and thus, at the same time, to have released for other purposes those powers of speculation which would have been mis-spent on it. It was much the same when our excavations at Ephesus came upon the ruins of the famous temple of Diana, also one of the seven wonders. The artistic and architectural remains did not, I think, come up to the general expectation, but every one was at least gratified to find that there would now be no more elaborate books written to prove that the temple had stood a mile or two away from where it did stand. That, again, was a great release of human ingenuity, to be expended on other subjects, and for this among other reasons we are proud to possess the remains of two out of the seven wonders.

The recovery of the remains of the Mausoleum has also given us a fixed

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and certain standard of the art of Greece, as it was understood and practised by its greatest men at a particular period, and that is a matter of incalculable benefit to students of art. It is not only that we can thereby decide what sculptures are older and what more recent than the Mausoleum, There are considerations more important than that. We knew previously the date of the Parthenon sculptures, and we knew also that an interval of less than 100 years—not much more than a life-time—had separated the Parthenon from the Mausoleum. But now we recognise the rate at which art had travelled in that period of time. The pace had been rapid, but it was invigorating and healthy. The tendency, no doubt, was towards the observation of actual life, with its daily multifariousness, and away from the ceremonial life of religious and national festivals, with their simple dignity and permanence of form. But the Mausoleum sculptors, though they readily acknowledged the changed spirit of their time, did not forget their obligations to the older traditions of their own art. It is for this that we owe them our warmest thanks.

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No. XIX.

RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN THE CAUCASUS:

BY

THE HONOURABLE JOHN ABERCROMBY, F.S.A. SCOT.

[*Abstract of a Paper read to the Society on 15th February, 1894*].

IN preparing this *resumé*, the following works were used.[1]

Traces of a neolithic period in the Caucasus are so scanty and incomplete that no positive conclusions can be drawn from them. But archæologists are inclined to believe that the country was uninhabited before the advent of a people acquainted with the use of metal.

Dolmens occur in two large groups at the north-western extremity of the Great Chain, one between Novo Rossisk and the Juba valley in the Abkhas country, the other in the upper valley of the Belaya, a tributary of the Kuban. The slab on the southern side is generally pierced with a hole, about the size of a man's head, at the distance of a foot from the ground. Similar apertures have been remarked in dolmens in France, Syria, and India. The excavation of these structures has yielded hardly any results.

A few stations of the Bronze Age have been discovered at the north-west of the Great Chain, notably at Novo Rossisk, where numerous flat axes, buttoned sickles, and stone moulds have been unearthed. Flat axes have also been found singly in the Kuban district, in the Kabardà, and in Daghestan. But these finds seem to belong rather to the south Russian area, where the bronze period had a long duration, and the civilisation was different. Those about to be noticed belong to an epoch when iron was known.

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[1] *Antiquités de la Russie Méridionale par le* Prof. N. Kondakof, Le Comte J. Tolstoi *et* S. Reinach, *vol. i., Paris*, 1891; *vol. ii.*, 1892, 4°.

Revue Archéologique. 3° série. J. xv., 1890, 8vo.

Mission Scientifique au Caucase par J. de Morgan, *2 vols.* Paris, 1889. *Small* 4°.

Recherches Anthropologiques dans le Caucase par Ernest Chantre, *5 vols.* Paris, 1885. 4°.

Das Gräberfeld von Koban von R. Virchow. *Berlin*, 1883. 4°.

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The necropolis of Koban lies about 22 miles south-west of Vladikavkas, at an altitude of 2600 feet above the sea level. The dead were generally interred in rough stone cists, though some had first been placed in a wooden coffin. As a rule, each grave contained but one body, lying on the right side with the legs bent up, the arms pressed against the breast, and the hands near the face. The inhumations belong to two periods; an earlier one equivalent to that of Hallstadt, or about the 10th century B.C., and the other several centuries later. The mortuary furniture is very rich, and attests, in some respects, a high degree of civilisation. The men were armed with battle axes, daggers, maces, bows and arrows; but neither swords nor lance heads have been brought to light, though upwards of 500 graves have been explored. For ornament, were worn bronze belts, torques, bangles—always found in pairs—rings, earrings, fibulæ, pins, pendants and chains, pierced teeth, and buttons. For use, they had bits, mirrors, needles, bodkins, tweezers, bronze cups, vases, and pots of earthenware.

Some of the daggers, pins, and bangles seem to belong to the Bronze Age, but the majority of typical forms, such as bow-shaped fibulæ, dagger hilts terminating in antennæ, bronze belts, torques, pins, and pendants have their nearest analogies at Hallstadt, in Styria, Hungary, and the proto-Etruscan tombs of Italy. In M. E. Chantre's opinion, the arrival of civilisation in this part of the Caucasus cannot have been later than the 15th century B.C., and it reached its highest development at Koban about the 7th century. Herr Virchow attributes the Kobanian civilisation to the 10th or 11th century B.C., and considers it rather older than that of Hallstadt. On the other hand, M. de Morgan, now director of the Bulak museum, maintains that the art and civilisation of this necropolis are by no means indigenous, but were introduced by the Aryan ancestors of the Osets about the year 650 B.C., the date of the first appearance of Aryan Armenians in the neighbourhood of Van, according to Assyrian inscriptions.

The necropolis of Kasbek, or Stepan Tzminda, lies on the road to Tiflis, about thirty miles south of Vladikavkas. In the three tombs described were found fibulæ, rings, bangles, and sherds of pottery. In the soil immediately above the cists were bones of sheep and oxen, human teeth, three rings of gold, seven of silver, four of bronze, eight bronze bangles, two bronze fibulæ,

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two arrows, two knives, and a few other articles, all of which may be regarded as offerings made by the friends and relations of the deceased. In another part of the cemetery a treasure was brought to light, containing a great number of gold, silver, bronze, and iron articles, phallic statuettes, onyx and cornelian beads.

At Kislovodsk, in a glen in the northern outliers of Elbrus, about 100 flagstone cists were exhumed. Each contained one, sometimes two individuals, with arms and instruments of bronze beside them. Chronologically, both these cemeteries may be referred to the later Kobanian epoch.

The next group of burial-grounds belongs, for the most part, to a much later period, which M. Chantre terms Scytho-Byzantine or Greco-Roman, extending from about the 7th century B.C. to the 7th century A.D.

Komunta, in the district of Digori, is an Oset village, standing at an elevation of 2,629 feet, and overlooking the banks of the Kamin Don. Externally there is nothing to betray the existence of a necropolis. But a great number of gold, silver, bronze, and iron objects, figurines of men and animals, and even gold and silver coins, have been unearthed from time to time, either by scientific explorers or by treasure-seeking natives.

The burial-ground of Galiate, 1½ miles north-west of Komunta, has been so thoroughly ransacked by the neighbouring villagers that only two tombs have remained undisturbed. The furniture of these was extremely poor, consisting of a pair of sheep-shears and a knife of iron, a bronze ring and bangle together, with a couple of beads, and a morsel of iron.

The necropolis of Lisgore, in Digori, lies 328 feet above the river Urukh. Its surface is studded with large standing-stones, some of them quite thirteen feet high, which, in the folk-lore of the inhabitants, were put in position by a former race of giants. The body was placed in a cist of stone slabs and laid on its back, with the arms stretched along the thighs, and the head against the eastern slab, while the face was turned to the west. Four tombs which have been opened contained seven earrings, two discs, a square ornament and small chains attached to spheres—all of silver, two bronze dice and three rings, two iron knives, beads, etc., and a human canine tooth pierced with a hole of suspension.

The cemeteries of Kambylte, Zergis, Latz, Chmi, and Ozrokovo (Urusbieh) were then described in some detail.

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Along the southern fringe of the steppe that stretches northward from the foot of the great chain, clusters of mounds, known as kurgans, are found; for instance, near Stavropol, Piatigorsk, Georgieosk, Mozdok, Vladikavkas, and as far east as the Chechenya, Petrovsk, and Derbend. The contents of some of these were described. They belong to a comparatively late period, when long swords, daggers, knives, pikes, and arrow-heads were made solely of iron.

At Samthavro, at the junction of the Aragva and the Kur on the south side of the Caucasus, two distinct levels of graves are observable, though in places the tombs are superimposed four deep. The upper level belongs to a period when the Greeks and Romans had spread their civilisation over the Caucasus. Coins have been found in them dating from the time of Augustus to that of the Sassanide Kings of Persia. In the lower stratum the utensils, arms, and jewellery differ sufficiently from those of Koban. The fibulæ resemble somewhat those from Koban and Kasbek, but the handles of two daggers are extremely like one from Redkin Lager, which is decidedly earlier. Most of the skulls are artificially deformed, a practice still in vogue among the Georgians, Osets, Kurds, and Armenians.

At Gori, a little to the west of Samthavro, tombs like those at Koban and Kasbek were also described.

The important cemetery of Redkin Lager lies four miles south of Delijan, close to the north-western extremity of Gökchai, the junction of the high roads to Tiflis from Kars and Erivan. The tombs, arranged in line, are cists with three vertical walls. The north and south walls are generally composed of three rough slabs set upright and touching, but the western face is always of a single slab. The roof is formed of two or three, often enormous, capstones. After the introduction of the corpse, the end was closed by a heap of loose stones. All the tombs are underground, with nothing overhead to mark their presence as a rule. The exception is when a cist was surrounded by a circle of boulders, the tops of which sometimes appear above the surface. Eighty-five of these sepulchres were explored by Bayern, but scarcely half of them yielded any mortuary furniture. They may have been rifled at an earlier date. The arms, mostly of bronze of careful workmanship and elegant form, consisted of very slender-socketed spear-heads, daggers with a short

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triangular blade, and arrow-heads of obsidian. Iron, though known, is very rare. No fibulæ and no axes were found.

The conclusions of M. E. Chantre may be summarised as follows:—Though the special type of axe and belt-clasp peculiar to Koban is not found in Georgia or Armenia, yet the same fibulæ, pendants, and decorative motives are found in all the burial-places. Iron is rare and exceptional in all these localities (Koban, Kazbek, Kislovodsk, Lower Samtavro, Gori, and Redkin). The analogies which can be proved to exist between the proto-historic sepulchral furniture of the Caucasus and that of the greater part of Europe are of capital importance. The majority of the forms and decorative motives of the cemeteries of the Iron Age in the Caucasus and the whole of Europe are, if not identical, so analogous that we are bound to attach them to the same civilisation. It is interesting to find incrustations of iron in bronze in the Caucasus, in Switzerland, and in Austria; to find dagger-hilts with *antennæ* identical with those of Hallstadt and of the tombs on the Tarn and Doubs; to find torques like those of Bosnia and the Jura; belts of thin stamped bronze, pins, fibulæ, and pendants with forms believed to be peculiar to the Tyrol; spiral armlets like those in Bourgogne, in the Alps and on the Danube. Koban has yielded innumerable pieces that can be attributed to the worship of Istar, such as doves, fish, and certain pendants. A Chaldean influence may also be traced in the small chariots of bronze.

In tombs belonging to the Scytho-Byzantine period (from the 7th century B.C. to the 7th century A.D.) the arms found in tombs were few in number, especially at Komunta and Galiate. They are all of iron, and of types that vary but little. The swords are long and straight, with a narrow guard, to which are attached hilts of bone or horn. The daggers in form resemble the modern kinjal worn throughout the whole Caucasian area. The arrows are usually socketed, with quadrangular heads, and some have double heads like those so plentiful in Siberia. Battle-axes have been found at Komunta, Galiate, and elsewhere. In shape they remind us of certain Merovingian ones, and of those found in kurgans round Vladimir and the country of the Merians. The bits, too, are like some from Vladimir, the cheeks being straight and without bars. The stirrups rather resemble those from the Merian kurgans. Some of the spatula-shaped pins recall the art of Koban;

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others have a cruciform tin head on a bronze shank. The bangles are very varied in form at Komunta; two of the types are quite Roman. Pendants and figurines are very common in the tombs. At Komunta, figures of stags and goats predominate. Those of the human figure are coarser than in the older period, and show a decline in art. Some few resemble the Permian and Siberian forms figured by Aspelin; others those of Koban and Gori. The fibulæ are all of bronze, save one of gold. They vary from the simple arch, with or without animal representations, to the most elaborate specimens of the crossbow type decorated with gems and enamels. The crossbow forms are frequent in Scandinavia, Finland, England, France, Hungary, and Germany. Specimens of *cloisonné* enamel are not wanting, and may be attributed to the 2nd century A.D. A great many tombs in Digori, the Kabarda, Oseti, and the south of Russia have yielded Byzantine coins between 461-641 A.D. Small mirrors of white bronze, containing thirty per cent. of tin, are found at Komunta, Galiate, and the neighbouring cemeteries. They are identical with those from Minusinsk and other places in Siberia.

The considerable resemblance between the remains of the first age of iron in the Caucasus and a certain number of objects from the Ural-Altaic area shows there was intercourse between these two regions. A detailed study of the subject makes it clear, however, that the origin of civilisation is not to be found in the former region. An attentive examination of the finds made in Siberia demonstrates that its peoples exercised an influence over the Caucasus at a relatively late period. The Siberian decorative motives most like those of Koban and Kazbek differ considerably, and it is only in the furniture of the Scytho-Byzantine tombs that we find evident traces of this influence. The tombs of Komunta and Chmi, which seem to indicate a transition between the two epochs, entirely differ in their construction and mode of interment from those of Koban. Here, and in most proto-historic tombs, there is usually only a single interment. At Komunta, Galiate, Latz, Chmi, and elsewhere in Digori, the Kabarda, and Oseti, we find crypts hollowed out in the hillside, and the bodies placed in a wooden coffin, exactly like those found in the tumuli of Central and Southern Russia. The civilisation of the Scytho-Byzantine epoch presents characteristics which bring it near that of La Tène and the Marne (4th century B.C.) and some places in the east of

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Europe. It is the equivalent of the first age in Scandinavia and of the second age of iron in the west.

Such, briefly, are the views of so eminent an archæologist as M. E. Chantre, who has himself conducted excavations on the spot. But the joint authors, Prof. Kondakof, Count J. Tolstoi, and M. Reinach, with fuller knowledge, perhaps, of the results of archæological research in Southern Russia, and writing six or seven years later, have arrived at a very different conclusion.

In their opinion, a number of objects found north of the Great Chain of the Caucasus show clearly an analogy with others from Southern Russia, belonging to the first century of our era. All the gold objects from the cemeteries of the Main Chain resemble antiquities from the Cimmerian Bosphorus. All that is orginal in the Caucasian bronzes seems to come from Asia, and they must be compared with the antiquities of Siberia. They will not admit that the Kobanian and other finds are of very ancient date, or anterior to the Christian era. The finds from Koban have a character identical with, or analogous to, those of Komunta and Kambylte, which belong to the Roman period. Some contain Byzantine coins of the 6th and 7th centuries A.D., and it is known that the Byzantines paid tribute to the Alans to prevent their making incursions, A whole series of the gold objects belong to a period posterior to the Christian era. The antiquities of Nedvigovka (Tanais) are quite like those of the Caucasus, and the former were found on the site of a town built between the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. The necropolis of Samthavro belongs to the first centuries of our era. At Komunta, the bow-shaped fibulæ, mirrors, &c., are of the same type as in the other cemeteries. A series, also, of tombs of later date, one containing a Byzantine coin and iron axes of the same type as that at Koban, has been discovered in the same locality. The necropolis of Chmi contains much, but nothing characteristic, and its axes are like those of Koban, though without ornament. The objects found in the Caucasus are attached, both in form and style, to those of Siberia. The antiquities of the Don province, and those from the district of the Koban, represent the second stage of an oriental branch of art which developed about the present era, and was transplanted into southern Russia by peoples coming from Asia. It is a style of which no other examples are

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found in the East, save in Siberia. And it is not a simple analogy; it belongs to the same family.

The next group of five cemeteries was explored by M. de Morgan in 1887 and 1888. The are placed at short intervals, nearly in a line from north to south, on the eastern outliers of the metalliferous Lelwar mountains, about 40 miles south of Tiflis.

At Sheitan Tagh, 138 cist-graves were explored. There was nothing above ground to indicate their presence. The body in each case had been laid on the left side, with the legs bent double to a level with the chest; the hands were in front of the face, and both head and feet usually rested on a flat stone. With few exceptions, each cist contained but one body, and from three to seven vases. As weapons, the dead were provided with arrow-heads of bronze, spears, daggers, and knives of iron; as ornaments, with bead necklaces, torques, bangles, pendants, and fibulæ of bronze.

The cemeteries of Akthala, Uch Kilisa, Musi Yeri, and Sadakhli were also described in some detail.

In order of age, M. de Morgan arranges these sepulchres as follows:—Redkin Lager; Western Akthala, Musi Yeri, C.; Upper Akthala, Musi Yeri, A.; Sheitan Tagh, Uch Kilisa, Sadakhli (?), Eastern Akthala (jar burial), Upper Akthala, Musi Yeri, B. They represent four distinct periods. From archæological and historical data he attributes the date of Redkin Lager to 2500 to 3000 B.C. The second period begins about 2000 B.C.; the date of the third lies between the 9th and 7th centuries B.C., when Armenia was under Assyrian influence; the fourth, to which the most recent tombs of Sheitan Tagh, Akthala, Musi Yeri, and Uch Kilisa belong, is between the 7th and 5th centuries B.C.

No skull measurements are given by M. de Morgan, and all that we can learn of the prehistoric people of Lelwar is, that some of the males—those of Upper Akthala—had black hair, which was worn plaited into short, narrow braids, but left free at the sides of the head. This fashion, however, was not always in the ascendant, for a Musi Yeri was found hair withont a trace of plaiting. From religious scruple, as M. de Morgan believes, or from want of skill, their artists never delineated the human face. In the few representations of the human figure on belts of sheet-bronze, displaying a man in chariot,

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drawn by two horses, and three archers in the pursuit of wild animals (Akthala and Musi Yeri). The men's heads have an animal or a bird-like appearance. The bones found over the graves show that for the funeral feast the friends and relatives slew and ate oxen, buffaloes, horses, pigs, goats, sheep, dogs, and various birds, including the fowl. It may be the dogs and horses were not eaten, but only killed for the use of their owners in the other world. There is evidence to show that the Lelwar population had a preference for odd numbers, and at one period had such close commercial relations with Assyria as to adopt the prodeural system of Nineveh. In some graves, chiefly at Musi Yeri and Akthala, the immense number of almost plain bronze rings and bangles attracted the attention of M. de Morgan, and led him to suppose they had been used as money, not for ornament. By an interesting series of calculations, based on the weights of twenty different sizes of these bronze rings, he arrived at a unit weighing 8·352 grammes, which he terms the Caucasian shekel, and is identical with the Assyrian shekel of 8·415 grammes, differing only by ·063 of a gramme. In one tomb 604 shekels' weight of rings was found, in another 540 shekels. The number of rings or bangles on each leg or arm was almost always odd, such as 23, 11, 9, 7, 5, 3; much more rare were 2, 4, while 6, 8, 10, 12 never occurred. In addition to commerce and mining, this ancient people, in the later period at anyrate, devoted attention to agriculture and stock breeding, as the numerous remains of threshing sledges from Sheitan Tagh, Musi Yeri, and Akthala, taken with the domestic animals already enumerated, abundantly prove.

In August, 1890, M. de Morgan published in the *Revue Archéologique* a brief summary of his exploration of the Lenkoran district. The 250 tombs opened by him may be divided into four classes: 1.—dolmens of large dimensions, containing bronze weapons; 2.—cists or small dolmens, containing bronze arms of a later period; 3.—cists of a transition period, in which iron begins to be used; 4.—cists containing iron only. The oldest dolmens are found on mountain tops, even at an elevation of over 9,000 feet, either isolated or in groups of four or five, while the tombs of the 2nd and 3rd classes, on much lower ground or in valleys, are generally in small groups. Those of the 4th class form regular cemeteries, containing from 150 to 200 cists. The larger dolmens of the 1st class are from 23 to 26 feet long by 6½ feet wide,

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and from 4 to 5 feet high. The tombs of the other classes are much smaller. The sepulchral chamber generally contained the remains of several persons, but one only of the male sex, the others belonging to women, as the arms and ornaments sufficiently prove.

In the oldest dolmens all the ornaments are of bronze, consisting of long two-edged swords, daggers, lance-heads—with or without a socket, arrow-heads, and axes—both flat and with an eliptical eye. Ornaments are rare, and include necklaces of cornelian beads and blue porcelain, bangles and pins of bronze. One necklace was partly formed of a well-polished agate engraved with a *bos zebu*, which seems to indicate relations of some kind between India and the north-west of Persia in the bronze age. The pottery is coarse, ill-burnt, and without ornament. It is both hand-made and turned on a wheel. The mortuary furniture of the second class is both rich and artistic, with characteristic ornamentation of the spiral and the *svastika;* that of the third is less so. With the apportion of iron a great change took place. Bronze weapons were gradually replaced by swords, daggers, and spears of iron; pottery affects the form of birds, oxen, and horses. M. de Morgan has little doubt that these dolmens and tombs were constructed by Aryans of the Iranian branch; that the date of these sepulchres of the second class is anterior to the 7th century B.C.; and that these Aryans learnt the use of iron from the early inhabitants of Northern Armenia.

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No. XX.

NOTE ON THE "ROMAN" BRIDGE NEAR BOTHWELL

BY

JAMES MACDONALD, LL.D., F.S.A.Scot.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 15th March, 1894.*]

Nearly half a century has elapsed since the publication of Stuart's *Caledonia Romana*—the latest formal treatise on the Roman Antiquities of Scotland. In a reasonable space the volume conveys to us an account of all that up to the author's day had been accomplished in this field of study. It is pleasingly written, the dryness of detail almost inseparable from the subject being relieved by occasional passages of a lighter style both in thought and expression.

During the intervening period, the science of archæology has made great progress in most of its branches. In particular, the importance of our native antiquities is now fully recognised. Formerly, with the exception of what might be credited to the "Druid" or the "Dane," nearly all objects, hoary with age, that gave evidence of taste or skill in any form, were ascribed to the Romans; and much learning and ingenuity were expended in setting forth the historical inferences to be drawn from their occurrence in particular localities. Sepulchral urns, bronze weapons, and gold ornaments, now known to be of native manufacture, were unhesitatingly classed as Roman. Earthen entrenchments, such as were constructed by people of an earlier or later day, in a great variety of forms and for a great variety of purposes, received a similar designation; while the remains of trackways or old roads, often of the rudest construction, were affirmed to be Roman without the production of a single well-ascertained fact in support of the assertion.

An explanation of all this is readily found. In former times antiquaries too often followed methods of investigation that were haphazard and unscientific. Having an imperfect knowledge of the Roman antiquities of

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other countries and very little of those proper to their own, they were apt to form opinions before first making sure that the data on which they proceeded were accurate. Too easily they allowed themselves to satisfy by conjectures which soon were made to pass for accepted certainties, that curiosity about the unknown so natural to the human mind. The mental discipline under which this tendency can be resisted they had not undergone. Advancement in other departments of knowledge was long retarded by similar obstacles. The astrologer and the alchemist of the Middle Ages preceded the astronomer and the chemist of modern times. To sweep away the accumulated rubbish of the past is generally the first task to which the pioneer, who seeks to open up anew any of the older paths of research, has to apply himself. Yet it is a task that ought to be performed with discrimination. All the accumulations are not necessarily rubbish. Something of value will be turned up now and then. Years of observation, however imperfectly carried on, cannot all have been fruitless. The Romans have undoubtedly left traces of their presence in Scotland, some of them of a very interesting nature and not far from our own doors. Thus our duty is, not to scatter doubts and leave the matter there, but by a careful examination and a sifting of evidence to endeavour to separate what is Roman from what has wrongly been assumed to be so. Nor must it be forgotten that we owe much to the antiquaries of former days. Besides creating an interest in the subject that was in itself healthy, they have preserved to us the knowledge of many relics of the past that but for them would long ago have been lost. If their discretion was often at fault, their zeal must always command our highest regard.

In estimating the worth of our Sibbalds, Gordons, Roys and Chalmerses, we may justly follow the example set us by Sir Walter Scott. Few that have read are likely to have forgotten the scene at the Kaim of Kinprunes, when the antiquary, in the midst of his ecstatic description of the supposed Roman camp, was interrupted by the prosaic exclamation of the mendicant, "Prætorium here, Prætorium there, I mind the bigging o' it." The circumstances of the incident disclose both Scott's insight into one of the weak points of the antiquaries of his time, and his esteem for them as a class. He detected, more readily, perhaps, than any of his contemporaries, the unsuspecting credulity, under the influence of which so many were imposed upon

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in their search for Roman remains. But he showed his deep sympathy with their aims by investing his hero, albeit he suffered sorely from this failing, with a kindliness of heart and a shrewdness in the ordinary affairs of life that go far to place Jonathan Oldbuck among the most estimable of Scott's creations.

Notwithstanding the hint that mistakes had been made, so plainly conveyed by the great novelist, the conclusions which were reached by means so unsatisfactory remained for long undisturbed. Much of the activity hitherto manifested in the study of our Roman antiquities seemed to cease, as if the subject were exhausted. Elaborate monographs have been written on our stone, bronze and iron ages, on our stone circles and our sculptured monuments. But Stuart is still the latest authority of importance in that branch of Scottish archæology of which he treats. Stray papers, dealing with an isolated "camp" or "fort," have appeared at intervals in the proceedings of our Societies, and there are popular summaries in which the older writers are almost implicitly followed; but nothing more. The energy of some members of this Society will soon, it is expected, wipe off the reproach as regards what has long been known as the Antonine Wall. And there are other parts of the field that invite cultivation. The territory of the Roman in Scottish archæology requires to be defined anew. An impression that the line that separates him from his neighbours should be considerably drawn back is gradually making itself felt. Diversity of opinion, however, still exists as to where the boundary between them should be fixed. The popular voice would leave him the bulk of his former possessions. Not a few, on the other hand, would confine him within much narrower limits. Discussion of the claims of certain antiquities to be Roman, that generally pass as such, is thus called for, in order to prepare the way for a just settlement of the whole question.

These remarks have been suggested by a visit paid the other day to a bridge over the South Calder, near Bothwell, known in the locality as the "Roman Bridge." It is not marked on the one-inch Ordnance Map of Scotland; but on the six-inch Map it appears as the "Roman Bridge"—so named, no doubt, in accordance with what the surveyors found to be the popular belief in the district. A disused road that crosses it and leads

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apparently to Carluke is marked on both maps, a short distance to the east of the bridge, as a "Roman Road."

In a very readable and instructive paper on the "Antiquities of Bothwell," recently read before the Literary Association of that place, and since published, the writer says:—"Tradition has it that the Clydesdale orchards "were planted by the Romans. . . . Old Roman relics have been found at "no great distance from Bothwell, and from time immemorial the belief has "existed that the bridge which spans the Calder, just below Orbiston, was "part of the ancient Roman road from Carluke to New Kilpatrick. At the "beginning of this century, a little below this bridge, there were to be seen "the remains of an old Roman camp, which has totally disappeared."[1] To investigate these traditions was no part of the object with which the paper was drawn up; and it would have been incomplete if the popular view of the Roman origin of certain antiquities in the neighbourhood of Bothwell had not been stated. This has been done fairly and concisely. In any remarks, therefore, that follow, I must be understood as referring solely to this belief, rather than as criticising statements for which the writer of the paper is not responsible.

An argument in favour of the Roman origin of an antiquity like a bridge may be founded on any one of three distinct particulars:—(1) History or Tradition; (2) Its structure; (3) Its connection with undoubted Roman remains. Let us endeavour to test the claim of the Bothwell bridge by all of them in their order.

1. History or Tradition.—The earliest reference I can find to the bridge as being probably Roman is in Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, published at the close of last century. In the account of the Parish of Bothwell we are told that "about a quarter of a mile east from this there is a "bridge over the South Calder, judged to be of Roman construction; of one "arch, high, very narrow, and without ledges. The Roman road, called "Watling Street . . . was a few years ago in entire preservation, leading to it "from the east, through Dalziel parish." The writer of the account of Dalziel parish says:—"Along this antient road (*i.e.* Watling Street), at the western

[1] *The Antiquities of Bothwell.* By John H. Pagan, M.A., pp. 23, 24.

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"boundary of the parish, upon a steep bank, over the River Calder, is the "remains of a *praetorium*, or Roman encampment. . . . At the foot of the "bank there is a semi-circular arch over the river, of good masonry, and very "uncommon construction, which has been supposed to be the work of the "Romans."[1]

It is significant that General Roy, in his *Military Antiquities of the Romans in North Britain*, which, though not published till after his death, in 1793, must have been completed some fifteen or twenty years earlier, is silent regarding this bridge. As a native of the neighbouring parish of Carluke, he must have been well acquainted with, and greatly interested in, the locality. The direction of what he believed to be the Roman road is minutely described. Clearly, therefore, no such belief was prevalent in his day, or he regarded it as unworthy of credit. Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, reproduces in a note the statements just quoted, but makes no mention of the bridge in his text. He must have had his doubts.

The writers of the *New Statistical Account* repeat in almost so many words what is said of the bridge in Sir John Sinclair's volumes. The minister of Dalziel, however, adds that it has been called the Roman bridge "from time immemorial"—an expression used in the *Antiquities of Bothwell*, evidently on this authority. Stuart notices the bridge, but only to dismiss it at once as "the so-called Roman bridge."

In Vol. I. of Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections*, now in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, the writer of the account of the parish of Bothwell remarks:—"Just at the west end of the Park, below the House (of Orbiston), "there is a good stone bridge consisting of one arch." The volume bears to have been bound and titled in 1748; but many of the papers in the *Collections* were written half a century or more earlier. It is worthy of notice that nothing is said in this, the earliest account we have of Bothwell parish, either of a "Roman Bridge" or of a "Roman Road." In the titles of the estate it is called the "Orbiston Bridge."

It appears then that the evidence of history and tradition amounts to this:—About a century ago the bridge was "supposed" or "judged" by some to be

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[1] *Old Statistical Account of Scotland.* Vol. xvi., p. 325; and vol. iii., p. 458 (1792).

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Roman, apparently for the first time, from its being crossed by an old road said to have been formerly called Watling Street. The supposition gathered strength, till half-a-century later the structure was said to have been "from time immemorial" distinguished by this epithet.

2. Structure.—No attempt has been made, so far as I know, to show that there is anything peculiarly Roman in the architecture of this bridge. Its arch is graceful enough, and the masonry substantial, though seemingly not all of one age. The roadway over it is very narrow, rises abruptly, and has a "bottoming" of stones. Till lately there was no ledge on either side, although the bridge must have had ledges when it was first built. To the ordinary eye there is nothing about it different from some other bridges of the kind that are undoubtedly late mediæval. I am not, however, qualified to give any definite opinion on this point and express none now beyond the remark just made. When some one who can speak with authority pronounces its construction to be characteristic of the Romans, a new element will be imported into the discussion.

3. Connection with undoubted Roman remains.—These are said to be (1) the tradition that the Clydesdale orchards were planted by the Romans; (2) old Roman relics found at no great distance from Bothwell; (3) the remains of a Roman encampment near the bridge; and (4) the old road that passes over it, long known in the locality as Watling Street and by consequence believed to be Roman. Only a brief examination of these is necessary.

(1.) *The Orchards.*—The writers both of the *Old* and the *New Statistical Accounts* take notice of the Clydesdale orchards, which are described as very productive. In days when the facilities for importing fruit to this country from sunnier climes were not so great as now, they were both numerous and remunerative. But any tradition that connects their early history with the Romans cannot go back very far; none of the Statistical writers mention it.

(2.) *Roman relics near Bothwell.*—A list of these is necessary, with localities, before any examination of them can be instituted. Considering the extent of the County of Lanark, and its proximity to the Antonine Wall, the number of Roman antiquities recorded as discovered within its bounds is surprisingly few; and the majority of those so named are either very portable articles such as coins, or sepulchral urns and so-called camp vessels—both undoubtedly native. After a somewhat careful search, I have been unable to light on a

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single Lanarkshire relic of this class that can be advanced as proving a Roman occupation of that part of the country.

(3.) *The Roman Camp.*—This enclosure, whatever it was, no longer exists. According to Stuart, there was another near the centre of the parish of Dalziel, some few traces of which were to be seen in his time. It is impossible to accept as well-founded the opinions so freely uttered last century, by which enclosures of almost every shape and size were set down as "Roman camps." If they are accepted, any effort to place the study of our Roman military antiquities on a sure foundation may be given up as hopeless. To take an earthwork for Roman, even if it stands beside a known Roman road, unless otherwise certified to be such, is in two cases out of three an error. The Roman road would be used long after the Romans left the country, and the natives would, for convenience, have their settlements in its vicinity, just as, in later times, the castles of the Norman barons were built close to the great thoroughfares of England, and probably of Scotland also.[1]

(4.) *The Watling Street.*—This is, I suppose, the most formidable arrow in the "Roman" quiver. For the present I can easily get out of its reach. One is under no necessity to defend oneself against its force till it is proved first that the road is certainly Roman, and then that the bridge is of the same age. The former may be Roman, while the latter is many centuries later. This is so obvious that I can scarcely conceive of its being disputed. Bridges are much shorter lived, so to speak, than roads. It is questionable if an example of an arched Roman bridge is to be seen in the whole of England, though the Romans held it for nearly four centuries, covered it, as is usually believed, with a network of roads, and furnished it with all that belonged to the organization of a Roman province. Dr. Bruce, in describing the foundations of the great Roman bridges over the Tyne at Newcastle and at the ancient Cilurnum, states that the roadways of both had "unquestionably been "horizontal, and consisted of a framework of timbers. Such," he remarks, "seems to have been the construction of all the Roman bridges in the North "of England."[2] Should these statements be correct, and there is no room to

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[1] See Wright's *Uriconium*, pp. 16, 17.

[2] Bruce's *Roman Wall* (Third ed.), p. 145 and p. 103.

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THE "ROMAN" BRIDGE NEAR BOTHWELL.

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doubt that they are, it would be passing strange if we could point to a stone-arched bridge, built say by Lollius Urbicus in the second century of our era, still defying the elements and proudly spanning a small Scottish stream.

While, for the reasons now given, I do not consider that it is necessary to enter on the question of the road, and may hold that an examination of the evidence for the bridge exhausts my subject, some observations on this Watling Street will not be out of place.

The road is, I find, ascribed to the Romans chiefly on two grounds—its having been known at least two centuries ago under the name of Watling Street, and its construction, *i.e.*, its being paved. It is well-known that the same appellation was once bestowed upon certain roads in Britain, understood to be of Roman build. But it cannot be further argued from this circumstance that all the Watlings were Roman any more than that all the Roman roads were called Watlings, which we know for certain they were not. The meaning of the epithet is unknown. It was first employed by the Anglo-Saxons, and may be either a Saxon or a Celtic word adopted by that people. It occurs frequently in their charters in the form Waetlinga Straet, which is said to mean the street or road of the Waetlings—whoever they were. Grimm suggests that the word is the Saxon *wathol*, wandering, and that Watling Street was called the Wanderers' Way because it was frequented by pilgrims. Others suppose that the wanderers were Irishmen, then as now noted for their migratory habits, and that it, therefore, means the Irishmen's Way. A third supposition is that it signifies the Robbers' Way. In support of this explanation it is pointed out that the English Watling Streets are all found in the neighbourhood of forests, where banditti would readily get shelter.[1] The same may be true of the Lanarkshire road. The wild oxen of Cadzow are, perhaps, the direct descendants of the ancient denizens of a forest that once covered part of the lower ward of the county. "Wild cattle," says Bell, "are certainly mentioned by various ancient writers as inhabiting "the forests of Britain, as in the forest-code of King Canute (1017-36), and "by Fitzstephen (*circa* 1174). They are also spoken of by Boethius (1526),

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[1] See Guest's *Origines Celticæ*, vol. ii., pp. 233-236, where these possible senses of the word are discussed.

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"Leslie (1575), and other Scottish writers, but only as having previously existed "in a free state, and as being already confined to a few parks and chases."[1]

More need not be said now on the meaning of Watling. Whatever may be its true signification, it was not applied to a road as indicating that it had a necessary connection with the Romans. A road so distinguished might be Roman, or it might not. It may also be remarked that, notwithstanding assertions made to the contrary by our older writers, it is very doubtful if the term Watling Street was ever in popular use in this or any other district of Scotland. It seems to have been imported from the other side of the border by Sir R. Sibbald.

Street is, of course, a Latin word. It was used originally to denote the 'covering,' *i.e.*, the pavement of a public road; hence the expression *strata viarum*. But it came early to be used as a generic appellation of any kind of road-way in construction of which stones were employed, as they are more or less in the case of all roads. Thus in 1582 the Town Council of Ayr order "a "hie strete and passage to be made from Langshot moss to Thriepland Dyke."

As to the construction of this road, I have examined it in one or two places, and find it very rude. Unhewn stones, of various shapes and sizes, more or less closely laid together, had been mixed or covered with several inches of gravel and earth. It is certainly not paved in the Roman sense of the term. Whether this is descriptive of it all along its course, I am unable to say. But one has only to stand on the South Calder Bridge and see how it winds, especially the bend it takes at the bridge itself, to have his suspicions aroused as to its being a specimen of Roman road-engineering. It is not to be supposed that in a country like Scotland, which the Romans overran rather than conquered, any roads they might make would be built on a plan as elaborate as the great postal roads of Italy and the older provinces. It is difficult, however, to conceive that one made by them, which has stood the traffic of many centuries, does not present some features that stamp it as their workmanship, unless it was merely a native trackway that they had hurriedly improved. Regarding a road less carefully constructed than we have a right to expect a genuine Roman road to be, if it runs where one need not be surprised to find the mark of Roman footsteps, it may perhaps be safest for us to con-

[1] Bell's *British Quadrupeds*, 2nd ed. p. 369.

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clude that it is impossible to tell from an inspection of it what was its origin.

The opinion is widely held that, after the departure of the Romans, road-making as an art was unknown in this country till the days of General Wade, Macadam and Telford; and in a sense this is quite true. During that long interval roads were unskilfully constructed, and no precautions were adopted to preserve them afterwards from the disintegrating effects of rain and frost. But no country raised above a state of barbarism could remain for so many centuries without efforts, however imperfect, being made by its inhabitants to extend the means of inter-communication. As a matter of fact, neither England nor Scotland did so remain. "In England," says Jusserand, "other "roads besides were opened during the Middle Ages to provide for new "fortified towns and castles, and to satisfy the needs of great landowners, "religious and otherwise."[1] Cosmo Innes tells us that in the district in which the Abbey of Melrose is situated, and in which its possessions lay, "roads "appear to have been frequent, and wheel carriages of different sorts in use." The tenants of the barony of Bolden, belonging to the Abbey of Kelso, were bound "to find carriages across the moor to Lesmahagow." The monks of the same abbey had waggons of some sort "for bringing over sea commodities "from Berwick." All this implied that there were roads in those days passable for carriages. There is mention in the time of the Alexanders of the king's high road through the length of Scotland, from Berwick to Inverness, not in all cases, perhaps, fit for wheeled vehicles, but in some only for saddle or pack horses.[2]

Mediæval bridges now standing in Scotland are few. But their number must have been at one time considerable. A fairly long list of them could easily be made out. Not a few of historic interest have entirely disappeared, such as the Bridge of Lauder, on the parapet of which, in 1481, the nobles of James III. hanged Cochrane and other three of their royal master's favourites. Unlike the roads, some of them were masterpieces of their kind. The old bridge over the Nith, at Dumfries, built, according to tradition, which may or may not be well-founded, by Devorgilla, mother of John Baliol, is said to have been long considered the finest in the two kingdoms after that of London.

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[1] *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 37.

[2] *Sketches of Early Scotch History*, pp. 98-192; *Scotch Legal Antiquities*, pp. 242, 243.

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In the Middle Ages almost all learning, human and divine, was centred round the Church. Architecture, especially, was taken under her wing. As the art through whose aid those structures were reared in which her services were held, it was fostered with much care. A kindred feeling led to an interest being extended from cathedrals and churches to bridges and even roads. They were a necessity for the poor as well as the rich, and were therefore, as regards the former, works of mercy. Indulgences were granted to those who "by their charitable gifts or their bodily labour" contributed to build or repair them.[1] Churchmen devoted themselves to the direction of those employed on them. In the twelfth century a religious order, "les frères pontifes," or Bridge Friars, was established, which spread over several countries of Europe. Four of the existing arches of the bridge of Avignon, over the Rhone, are of their construction. Evidence of the pious character assigned to all such works is abundant. But about the middle of the fifteenth century laymen began to make themselves acquainted with the secrets of an art that had been long in churchmen's keeping; and other authorities gradually arose that took the place of the latter, carrying on their operations in ways and by means of their own.

It is, however, instructive to note that in order to raise funds for the building of a bridge, the idea of its being a religious or charitable work was often appealed to long after the Reformation. To this survival of ancient belief and practice the records of our Scottish Church Courts bear direct testimony. Sometimes the initiative was taken by the civil power with the sanction of the Church, and sometimes by the Church alone. For example, in 1669, in the time of the Episcopate established by law, the Privy Council granted a warrant for the making of a collection in all the congregations south of the Forth, to build a stone bridge over the Water of Luce, and the Bishop and Synod of Galloway recommended this collection to the several Presbyteries within the diocese. In 1692 the heritors of Dunscore ask the Presbytery of Dumfries to certify that there is need for a new bridge over the Water of Cairn. Two years later the bridge is completed, and the Presbytery, after inspecting it, minute their satisfaction with the work. Among

[1] *Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense*, vol. i. pp. 615, 641 (A.D. 1314), quoted by Jusserand, p. 44.

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the unprinted Acts of the General Assembly of 1699, was one entitled, "Recommendations for building the bridges of Lanark and Ancrum." At a meeting of the Presbytery of Ayr, held at Kirkoswald, 1st July, 1779, a petition was presented by the minister and others in Daily, "desiring a collection "to be made through this Presbytery to help to defray the charge of building "a stone bridge, with two arches, over the Water of Girvan, near the kirk of "Dailie, and showing the necessity and usefulness of the bridge for passage "to a great part of the said parish to the church."[1] At a subsequent meeting the prayer of the petition was granted.

When pontages and assessments, voluntary or otherwise, began to be levied for the building and maintenance of bridges, architects of the highest standing in the country were sometimes called in to prepare the plans. Accordingly, in 1682 we find Robert Mylne of Balfargie, who was Master Mason to the Crown of Scotland in the reign of Charles II. and his two immediate successors as well as the architect that completed the design for Holyrood Palace, instructed to build a stone bridge of one arch over the river Clyde at "Romellweill Crags," now Ram's Horn Pool, 29 miles above Lanark. The spot is close to the "Roman road" of the Ordnance Map, which, previous to the erection of this bridge, had no doubt crossed the river near it by a ford. Mylne's bridge was superseded in 1770 by another of three arches, erected by Russell and Telford, 360 yards below its site. No trace of the old bridge now remains.[2]

With these facts before us, and their number might be largely increased, no surprise need be felt at finding what was apparently once the main line of communication between Bothwell and Carluke and the former representative of that part of the Glasgow and Carlisle road, carried over the South Calder by a substantial stone bridge. Possibly the date of its erection, if sought for, may yet be discovered among the papers or accounts of the Hamilton or Dalziel Estates.

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[1] This extract has been obligingly furnished by Rev. James Wilson, St. Quivox.

[2] Mylne: *The Master Masons to the Crown of Scotland and their Works*, pp. 221-227.

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No. XXI.

THE PAPINGO:

BY

THE REV. WILLIAM LEE KER, M.A.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 19th April, 1894.*]

"WHAT is the use," it may be asked, "of writing any more about the "papingo? The sport is abandoned. The bows which used to be employed "at the pastime are unstrung, and the arrows are covered with dust. "Neither men nor boys ever speak a word or even think a thought about "this ancient pastime. Besides, a good deal on the subject has already "appeared in print, and so the matter may now quite properly be let alone." Ah, well! there's not a little truth in such remarks. And yet the story of the papingo may be more fully told than ever it has been, and there are yet some hearts that beat quickly, and some eyes that glance brightly, when the ongoings at this ancient sport are referred to, and altogether it may not be remiss to have a parting word about a pastime which for so many centuries delighted the hearts of men and maidens on village greens, and which now appears to be hopelessly and helplessly abandoned among the things that were.

The popinjay, that is, shooting with arrows at a bird resembling a parrot, was a sport both ancient and widespread. It may almost be said to be as old as Homer. Certainly the poet describes, among the games which accompanied the funeral rites of Patroclus, something closely resembling the popinjay. But the bird shot at was a pigeon and not a parrot, and it was a real bird at which Teucrus and Menones shot, while the mark for the players at the papingo was only a wooden representation of the popinjay. According to Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, the pastime of the popinjay was familiar to the Londoners of very early times. Here was a curious proviso which Strutt quotes in connection with this matter: "In case any person should be slain "or wounded in these sports, with an arrow shot by one or other of these

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"archers, he who shot the arrow may not be sued or molested, if he had, "immediately before the discharge of the weapon, cried out, 'Fast.'" Evidently the archers practising the game of papingo were protected from harm by crying out "Fast," just, I suppose, as modern golfers think they may use their drivers with impunity, provided only they call out "Fore," While, however, the sport of popinjay seems to have been so general and so ancient, it is noteworthy that not even such an enquirer as the authority already named has been able to discover any delineation or representation in any engraving, or otherwise, of this pastime. The ancients shot with their arrows at parrots, but none of their artists have provided us with any sketch of their doing so.

But this article is not so much on the popinjay as on the papingo—that is, the Scottish popinjay; for papingo is just the Scotch for popinjay, which, in its turn, is old English for parrot. And it is curious to note that though this sport was doubtlessly played in all parts of Scotland, played doubtlessly in some form wherever archery in general was practised, nevertheless the writer of this article cannot find any proof of its having been in use anywhere else than in these two towns of Ayrshire, viz., Kilwinning and Irvine. It is true that Sir Walter Scott, in *Old Mortality*, says that it was practised in early times at Dalserf in Lanarkshire. But the note quoted by Sir Walter from the history of the Somerville family, on which he founded his story of the prowess of "The Green Marksman" on the 5th day of May, 1679, does not describe the papingo sport, and therefore the great Wizard of the North must have been indebted to what he had seen or heard elsewhere for the spirited narrative with which his readers are so familiar. Very likely the papingo was practised at Dalserf in 1679, but at the present time there is only a very vague tradition of its having formed one of the sports of the great wappenschaw gatherings in the county of Lanark. Then, in his Notes to *Old Mortality*, Sir Walter in 1816 writes: "The festival of the Popinjay is still, I "believe, practised at Maybole in Ayrshire." Well, the belief of the great novelist may have been correct, but in the present year of grace, 1894, there is not the slightest tradition of the papingo in Maybole. But, surely, if it had been in use in 1816, "the oldest inhabitant" would have had something to say about it.

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So far then as Scotland is concerned—so far, in other words, as the papingo is concerned—it is only with Kilwinning and Irvine that history enables us, with anything like accuracy, to associate the ancient sport under consideration. While, however, our information respecting this old Scottish pastime is limited to what we can gather from the records of these ancient towns, nevertheless the information is very ample. J. Dickie, Esq., town-clerk of Irvine, kindly provided the writer with a most interesting document in connection with the papingo and the ancient royal burgh of Irvine. Among other things contained in the Fiscal's communication was the following copy of a "Bond of Hendrie "Dyet, Smyth, Burges of Irving," which is dated 29th August, 1665:—
"The Magistrates haveing conforme to the old aintient practics, appoynted "the Paippingoe to be set up, and that whasoever Burgess is pleasit to adres "thameselffs thairto with their bows and arrows for schooting thairat might "have full friedome and libertie upoun deponing the ordinarie consignatione, "and that several dayis being appoynted for schooting thairat, and at last this "day, as being the last day, that whosever sould ding the same doun sould "be capitan and have ane benne or scarffe consisting of the value of twelff "pundis Scotts or thairby. . . . . And it falling out that I have attaint "to the honor this day in being Capitan throu my schooting down of the "papingoe, and haveing recivit ane scarff of the value aforesaid, Thairfore, "and for observing of the said ordinance Witt ye me as principall, and "with me John Thomson, Flescher, Burges of the said Burgh, as cautioner "and souertie for me to be bound and obleist lykas we by their presents "faithfallie bind and obleis as conjunctlie and severallie our airs and executoris "to the Magistratis of this Burgh present, or for the tyme being, that I, the "said Hendrie Dyet, sall upone the first Tysday of May next to come, "jm. v jc., thrie scoir six yearis exhibit, and produce ane papingoe with ane "silk scarff of the value of twelve pundis with twentie ellis of ribbens of the "value aforesaid, that so the antient practeis may be keipit up in all tym "comyng, both with us and our posteritie and Burgessis of this Burgh."

From this interesting bond of Mr. Hendrie Dyet, only a part of which has been quoted, we perceive that in 1665 the papingo had been long practised in Irvine; that the spelling of the pastime was not fixed, being written both Paippingoe and Papingoe; that the sport was engaged in in the month of

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May, and continued four several days; that on "the fourt day the Papingoe to "be maid louse for shooting her af"; that the person who might "ding the "samyn doun" was called captain; that he received as a prize "ane Benne "or Scarff," consisting of the value of about twelve pounds Scots; and that the said captain had to promise, and to find some one who would be surety for the fulfilment thereof, that, in the following year, he would provide a new papingo, a scarf similar in value to that which he had received as a prize, and twenty ells of ribbons, which were to be divided into so many parts, and given away as prizes.

Irvine, therefore, can claim a very ancient connection with this old sport; but it seems to have abandoned it much earlier than the neighbouring town of Kilwinning. So far as can be ascertained, it probably fell into disuse in Irvine about the year 1721. Certainly, in this year, the old steeple of the Parish Church had to be taken down, and, as in all likelihood the game was practised at this steeple, it fell into disuse when the tower fell into ruins. Moreover, about this date the archers of Irvine seem to have adopted a change which was becoming common, and substituted guns for bows and arrows, so that, even after this date, they kept up the old sport, they must have done so, as Sir Walter Scott says the people of Dalserf did in 1679, namely, with "fusees and carabines." Long after 1721, indeed, the Irvine archers practised a kind of papingo. At the beginning of the present century they might have been seen, in an enclosure on the west side of the Academy, busily engaged in twanging the bow. But it was only at a target of about eighteen inches in diameter, set up on a pole of about fifty feet high, and at a distance of about thirty yards, and the main object they seem to have had in view was not proficiency in archery, but to be able to obtain success at the annual papingo sport, which continued to be celebrated by their more conservative neighbours in the ancient, and evidently ancient-loving, town of Kilwinning.

Kilwinning, indeed, was evidently for centuries greatly taken up with the papingo. It was the grand annual festival. The boys of Kilwinning had their papingo. The working men had their papingo. The gentlemen had their papingo. And as each party held their festival on separate days, and the whole country side took an interest in the sport, one can easily understand

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what a blank was created when the pastime fell into disuse. But the archers of Kilwinning not only perpetuated for ages this ancient sport, they kept a full and faithful account of their doings; and so to-day, in the three volumes of records of the gentlemen archers, we can perceive how for centuries the game has gone on.

The first minute we have is the following exceedingly interesting and explanatory one:—

"At Kilwinning the fourth day of September sixteen hundred and eighty-
"eight years, the which day the company of Archers of the town of Kilwinning,
"viz., Wm. Blair, elder of that ilk, Hugh Montgomery of Collsfield, Hugh
"Stevenson of Muntgreenan, Mr. James Stevenson, advocat, his brother,
"Mr. Hamiltoune, son to Captain Will. Hamiltoune of Ladyland, James
"Fergusson, writer in Edinr., William Baillyie, mercht. Burgess of the said
"Burgh, Francis Baillyie, his brother German, John Ewing, writer in Edinr.,
"Mr. Wm. Rodgers in Kilwinning, Matth. Frew, mercht. ther, James M'Coll
"son to the deceast Mr. Gabriel M'Coll, minister of the Gospel, and James
"McBryd in Kilwinning, haveing this day mett and convened in order to the
"restoring of the ancient game of the papingo formerly used to be practised
"in this place, and in order thereunto Ilk yin of the said company of archers
"have paid out twelve shillings Scots and have bought therewith ane silver
"plaite worth twenty shillings as the prize to be shote for, and haveing
"furnished the papingo with the remainder of the said soume. As also they
"appoint Wm. Baillyie above designed their precess to the meeting, and the
"said James McBryd the Clerk. And have consigned in the hands of the
"said Clerk the said papingo and prize and appoint the day of the first
"shouteing to be at Kilwinning the eleventh day of this instant at ten o'clock
"in the foorenoon, and recommends to ther said precess to have the papingo
"fixed in the turrets be nine of the clock in the foorenoon of the said day.
"And sicklyke they recomend to their said precess to apointe a second dyet
"of shouting and both the said dyets of shooting is for silk points of ane
"considerable value. And he that hits the papingo or breaks ane wing
"thereof shall have ane poynt on or more as the precess shall determine.
"And after the said two dyets of shouting for poynts are over the precess is
"to apoint ane third day for shooting for the prize. And he who fairlie dings

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"down the papingo is to have the said prize, he allways giving bond and "finding caution that he shall set up the said prize or another of the like "value at the place foresaid upon the thrid tuesday of August next occurring "he receiving at that time fourteen shillings Scots from Ilk person that shall "shoot. And in lyk manner apoints that intimation shall be made of this "exercise and sport the next mercat days at the Burghs of Air, Irving, and "Killmarnock—And recomends to the said precess to apoynt the house "where the archers shall dyne and to deall for the ancient priviledge of ane "plake of the pynt of aill to the Goodman of the house And to give such "orders and directions as he thinks fitt for completing this exercise and sport.

"The Captain who wins the prize to give bond also for putting the butts in "sufficient repair against day of the shooting of the papingo.

"(Signed) WM. BAYLLIE HUGH STEVENSON
"FRAN. BAYLIE JAMES FERGUSON
"MATT. FREW
"JAS. STEVENSON JAS. M'BRYD."

So, then, on the 4th September, 1688, the archers of Kilwinning met "in "order to the restoring of the ancient game of the papingo, formerly used to "be practised in this place." What a pity they did not state in their otherwise most interesting and excellent record how long the ancient game had fallen into desuetude, and especially how long the "exercise and sport" had been previously practised! Perhaps they could not give the latter information, and did not think of giving the former. At anyrate, the fact of their not having been specific on this point has led, I fear, to a claim for an antiquity in the practice of the papingo at Kilwinning which cannot in all fairness be vindicated. All that the minute quoted above shows, is that the game in 1688 had fallen into disuse, and that prior to its disuse it had been long practised. It is quite true that most of us who have already written on this subject have boldly affirmed that this sport has been in use in Kilwinning since 1488, or rather 1482. But this assertion is founded on what, after due investigation, can only be called very questionable, indeed unreliable, authority, viz., upon a summary of the first volume of the *Archers' Records*, written at the beginning of the volume. This summary, which is very carefully written, has always apparently been regarded as the first minute of the

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Records, and its assertions as the statements of the revivers of the papingo in 1688. In reality, however, it was probably written far on in the 18th century. The author of this article ventures indeed to say that he has spotted the writer of the summary in the following minute, in the second volume of the *Records of the Archers*, the date of which is 5th June, 1788:—"The ancient "and honourable society of the Kilwinning Papingo unanimously vote to "Mr. Coulter, their secretary, for his unremitting attention to the interests of "the society, and for his extraordinary service in having without solicitation "transcribed their ancient records," etc. Is it unnatural to suppose that the work done by Mr. Coulter was the long note and long index at the beginning of the first volume? Certainly some one wrote that summary, and in writing it he has led all future writers to claim the practice of the papingo for Kilwinning at as old a date as 1482. But why have they done this? His words are, "Shooting with Bow and Arrows at Butts, and Papingo has been "used and practised in Kilwinning by the inhabitants thereof for the space of "two hundred years and upwards." And what does he mean by this? Are we to understand him as asserting that the papingo had been practised two hundred years before he wrote his summary, or from the date of the first minute? If the former, then we go back to about 1588; if the latter, we go back, as has invariably been done, to about 1488. But what authority had the summarist for making either assertion? He gives none. Probably, therefore, we are right in inferring that he read the first minute of the Archers' Society as we have done, and then hastily drew the conclusion that the words "formerly used to be practised in this place" warranted him in making a claim for "two hundred years and upwards";—warranted him, in short, in drawing the long bow. Very likely, indeed, Mr. Coulter, or whoever else it was that wrote the summary, was quite right in acting thus; perhaps he was within and not without the mark even if we regard him as referring to the oldest date—1482—but we cannot say he spoke with authority. This, however, is just what all subsequent writers on the subject have regarded him as doing. The secretary of the Archers, for example, in 1809, says that "it "appears from the records of this institution that it has existed for 326 years," and the only records he can quote upon the point is the summary referred to. So also the Rev. T. Pollock, minister of Kilwinning, says in his account of the

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parish in 1794, that the sport of the papingo dates from 1488, because a minute in the records of the company of archers, of date 1688, says so, and, of course, the record is the summary of which we have spoken, at the beginning of the first volume of the records. But while the practice of the papingo in Kilwinning cannot be proved to have begun so far back as 1482, nevertheless the language of the first minute warrants the conclusion that it may have existed in Kilwinning even long before that date, and that certainly it had been in vogue long, long before 1688. The practice, then, of this ancient game has a very old association with the old town of Kilwinning. And yet Kilwinning must not claim an older connection with this pastime than the royal burgh of Irvine. The two towns should be quite ready to place each other on a par in this matter, and wear between them the honours, whatever they are, of being, so far as the writer of this article knows, the only towns in Scotland which can claim historical connection with this ancient "exercise and sport," which was in distant ages so generally practised.

And now, though the earliest record gives not a little information on the subject, it may be well to refer more particularly to the nature of this ancient pastime and the manner of practising it. The papingo itself was a wooden bird made to resemble a parrot alike in shape and colour, and, of course, a great deal would depend upon the artist who was commissioned to do the work as to whether the resemblance was a good one or not. The wings were loose, and the apertures in which they were stuck in the sides of the bird were wide, so that they readily fell out when struck. This wooden parrot was fixed to the end of a pole, which was laid on the top of the only remaining tower of the once grand Abbey of Kilwinning, so that the bird was about ten feet from the tower. At anyrate, this was the place usually associated with the papingo, though, of course, before the destruction of the Abbey, at the end of the sixteenth century, the sport must have been practised somewhere else. The bird was therefore 100 feet above the marksmen, who had to aim perpendicularly from the base of the tower. At the beginning of the sport the bird was firmly fixed to the pole, with the wings spread out, and consequently at this stage the archer could only touch it, or at best bring down a wing. When, however, the end was drawing near, and the shooting was for the great honour of being captain of the papingo, the bird—either the one previously shot at with

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the wings taken out, or else another bird without wings—"was made louse "for shooting her af," and a comparatively slight touch could "ding her doon."

The season of the year in which the sport was practised varied. The first recorded meeting was in September, but next year it was in May, and this was the usual time for many years. At the beginning of the present century, however, and on to the last, the meetings were commonly held in July or August.

According to the records alike of Irvine and Kilwinning, the sport was at first of long duration, extending in the former place to four and in the latter to three days. From the beginning of the present century it was limited to one day, the earlier part of the day being devoted to shooting for points and wings, the latter part for the honour of the captaincy. The sport was invariably preceded by steady shooting at the butts, and it is not unlikely that the papingo was regarded as a mere pastime in connection with archery, and in no way expected to promote efficiency in the use of the bow. Probably, indeed, the papingo was at first just an annual festival in connection with the steady and earnest practice of archery, in which all were forced to take a part. At anyrate, the papingo day was a great day in Kilwinning. For though the gentlemen's papingo, with which we are now specially concerned, did not probably excite the general enthusiasm of the people to the same extent as the men's, or even the boys', nevertheless it must have produced not a little excitement both in town and country. Early in the morning the grand bell in the Abbey tower announced a gala day. "The turrets" were visited by eager onlookers as the papingo was duly suspended from their highest point. About twelve o'clock the archers wended their way from the place of rendezvous to the churchyard, preceded by their officer carrying the silver arrow and its numerous medals, and marching to the lively strains of the Kilwinning instrumental band. Shooting for points was then briskly carried on amid the huzzas or the laughter of the crowds at the success or failure of the marksmen. Then came the dinner, held in the beginning of this century in the Mason Lodge, but latterly in the hall of the Eglinton Arms. About seven o'clock the base of the tower was again reached, and the shooting for the captaincy began. When the bird fell, the tower bells pealed and the crowd cheered—specially if the captain was a popular man—and the instru-

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mental band struck up, and altogether something like wild enthusiasm was manifested. Then there was a procession formed to the Crossbrae, and, according to use and wont, a bowl of toddy was brewed, and prosperity to the old town of Kilwinning and success to the papingo, proposed by the captain, and a dance, in which the conquering hero had the privilege of "tripping the light fantastic toe" with some ancient matron—Sibby Glen, a widow of four-score years, being the favoured partner in the days of many of the present generation. The procession was again formed, and the archers returned to the hall in which the meetings were for the time held, and the insignia of office, the silver bow and medals, were ostensibly handed over to to the captain, but actually only held up before him, and immediately thereafter removed to the safe keeping of the secretary; and then there was a ball, whose "glitter and glare" depended not a little upon the social position of the hero of the day. When these things were going on, there must have been no little excitement in the then no doubt peculiarly quiet and peaceful town and neighbourhood of Kilwinning.

Nothing seems to be known respecting the dress of the players at papingo in earliest times, except that the captain wore the benn or scarf, which was the prize for his prowess in shooting down the bird. We find, however, this minute of 1713—"All the Captains of the Papingo shall wear a scarlet ribbon, "2½ yards long, over the shoulder." Then, in 1806, it is recorded that "Alexander Miller, Esq., of Monkcastle, presented the society with a pink "sash for the common use of the society, and was thanked." It is quite likely that there was nothing peculiar about the dress of the archers, except the distinction just referred to, in earlier times. But, if so, a change took place at the beginning of the present century. Then ambition to look well, as well as to shoot well, fired their breasts, and on 29th August, 1828, the following resolution was come to:—"The uniform dress to be worn by the "members of the society when shooting for the silver arrow, and also for the "butts prizes, to consist of a double-breasted green long coat with gilt buttons, "the coat to be lined with white silk, the buttons to be made with cross "arrows with points downwards, white cashmere vest with uniform buttons, "the pattern coat and vest to be seen in the possession of the Secretary." With becoming politeness, there is nothing said about "unmentionables," and con-

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sequently we may conclude that with respect to these the marksmen could attire themselves as they pleased. Great importance was evidently attached by the archers to the prizes that were given, alike at the butts and the papingo competitions. Though unwilling to lengthen this probably unduly long paper by introducing any extraneous matter, it may be well to notice a peculiarity in connection with the butts prizes. They were promised with great formality, the persons writing their engagements in the minute book and carefully signing them. But the greatest peculiarity consisted in the dates given for the fulfilment of their promises. For example, in the year 1693 the Laird of Coilsfield promised the first prize mentioned in connection with the butts shooting, viz., "a silver plate with his arms thereupon." In 1694 the Laird of Blair gave the promise of a prize for 1695. At the same meeting in 1694, Mr. Hugh Stevenson of Montgreenan followed suit with a promise for 1696, and others put down their engagements up to 1705. This went on year after year, till, in 1757, there were prizes promised right on to the year 1929. For the year 1893, George Glasgow of Nethermains in 1729 agreed to provide the prize. As a matter of fact, however, those who could be called upon were asked to fulfil their engagements in a comparatively short time after the giving of the promise. What between insolvency, going abroad, and death, many were incapable of fulfilling their engagements. Accordingly we find Lord Eglinton, who promised in 1729 for 1896, requested to provide his prize only some two years after he had engaged to do so. Evidently butts prizes were readily promised, but many of the promises were "writ in water." But we must turn again to the papingo, and as we know from the first minute of the Kilwinning Records, as well as from the bond in connection with the Irvine archers, the captain of the one year made a most solemn obligation that he would provide corresponding prizes for the next year, and, not only so, but he had to have some one who pledged himself that he would see the promise carried out. The prizes varied in value. For merely striking the papingo, "a poynt" was given, viz., a piece of narrow silk ribbon, about eighteen inches long, and for winging the bird the marksman received a piece of ribbon broader and larger than the other. These trophies of their skill the archers proudly stuck in the buttonholes of their coats, and wore them during the continuance of the sport. Nor did the prizes for touching and winging the bird ever vary. They were

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always the same. It was otherwise with the chief prize—that given to the archer who should "ding the bird doon." In the oldest times, both in Irvine and Kilwinning, this consisted of a piece of Persian taffeta; in Irvine of the value of "twelff pundis Scots," in Kilwinning of the value of twenty pounds Scots. This silk ribbon was, in Kilwinning, three ells long and three-quarters broad, of several colours—red, blue, green, scarlet, etc. It was called a benn, and was tied round the waist of the archer who gained it as a badge of honour. On the revival of the papingo sport in Kilwinning, in 1688, a new prize was instituted, viz., a piece of silver plate, which was to cost twenty shillings sterling, and though it was not determined that only a piece of silver plate was to be given as the captain's prize, nevertheless, as a matter of fact, this was the form which it ever afterwards took, and it was agreed that whatever form the prize took it was to be of "lyk" value to that set up in the year 1688. But the pastime of the papingo was a popular one in these days, and so we find that in the year 1724 the form which the piece of silver took was that of an arrow of much greater value than twenty shillings sterling. The donor of this gift was David Mure, merchant in Kilwinning, and he, being not only an enthusiastic archer but also a good shot, was himself the successful competitor for the prize. In 1725 Mr. Mure was equally liberal, and the silver arrow was gained by Mr. Alexander Baillie, merchant in Glasgow; and here a strange thing occurred. The archers did not give Mr. Baillie the arrow gained by him. They met in the house of Mr. James Eagle, and ultimately agreed that "the said arrow should continue to be the prize at "the Papingo and not to be altered," and evidently Mr. Baillie acquiesced. Then they further determined that the gainer of the silver arrow should affix to it a badge of silver or gold "not under a crown value," that he should be the custodian of it, but on condition that he gave ample caution for its safe delivery, and that whoever "gained the Papingo" for six years in succession was to obtain absolute possession of the arrow and all its badges. It was besides enacted that if any one did become proprietor of the arrow and its badges he should set up as the prize for the next year something of the value of thirty-two shillings sterling. This contingency, however, never happened, no one apparently having "gained the papingo" even two years in succession. On 6th May,

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1767, the arrow having now many badges, it was resolved that "gain it who "will at the shooting, it shall remain in Kilwinning, lodged in the hands of "the Clerk of the society for the time being, who is to give a receipt for it. "The said Clerk bound himself to have it in readiness to any member of the "society, or to any other archer belonging to any other society, who may come "to Kilwinning and have a curiosity to see it. Henceforth the person who "gains the arrow shall only have his name inscribed on the books as the "winner." And this arrangement continued to the end. The Secretary kept the arrow and its medals, and each successive Captain added his prize. The result is that there is now in the possession of Messrs. H. & R. King, bankers, Kilwinning, as representatives of the late Hugh King, Esq., who was the last appointed, but who was by no means the least enthusiastic Secretary of this most ancient Society, the said arrow with all its badges, which amount now to the number of 116, the first being that of Bailie Mure, of date 1724, and the last that of James Hutton Watkins, Esq., whose prize was given in 1866. As the medals increased in number the original arrow was found too small to hold them, and accordingly it was proposed by Mr. Dods, Captain General of the Society in 1845, that a new arrow be procured, the old "medals cleaned up, "repaired, and attached thereto, the old arrow to be kept in the box along "with it." This proposal was carried into effect in 1859, though in a more extensive manner than originally thought of, a silver bow being provided with a somewhat elaborate arrangement of arrows. It should be added that some of the medals are very pretty in design and massive in size; that there is one of gold which was the prize of Hugh Montgomery, Esq., in 1860; that each bears, on one side, the Captain's name and the date on which it was presented, while on the obverse side the coat of arms of the donor is engraven; and that on festival days the silver bow, with the medals suspended on it, was fixed on a pole and carried about with great pomp and delight by the officer of the archers. The last meeting of the Gentlemen's Papingo was held on 28th July, 1870, when Mr. William Brown, of Parkend, in absence of the Captain, acted as President. The coming of the end of this ancient sport had long been threatened. So far back, indeed, as 1732, complaints were made about the smallness of the numbers who attended the dinner of which the archers were expected to partake on the day on which the competition for

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the Captaincy took place, though the difficulty was got over by the charge for the dinner, "exclusive of wine," being made the very moderate one of one shilling each.

Towards the end of last century, the want of enthusiasm necessary to keep up the sport is indicated by an occasional year in which no one would try for the once coveted honour of being Captain of the Papingo, while the ranks were thinning in consequence of the alleged expense of maintaining a connection with the Society. One can easily understand, indeed, why there were times when few would undertake to try for the Captaincy, the expense in connection with the honour being considerable. The captain had to provide a prize for the next year, and pay for a bowl of punch, or for wine for general refreshment, a sum which, in 1809, was restricted to one guinea at most, and he was expected to give a ball in the evening, to which he invited the youth and beauty of the surrounding district, and if the general funds of the society did not pay the cost of the necessary expense, he had to make up the deficit. But the ordinary members of the society do not seem to have had much ground to complain of expense. Here is the first statement on record of the receipts and expenditure of a papingo festival, and it is for the year 1813 :—

Cash received for 33 Staks at the steeple, 2s 6d ea., ...	£4	2	6
Cash received for 6 entries, @ 4s each, ...	1	4	0
,, ,, from Alex. Miller, Esq., ...	0	3	6
	£5	10	0
Cash paid for dinners to the fidlers and officers, etc., in number seven, @ 2s 6d ea., ...	£0	17	6
Paid the drummer and piper's wadges, @ 5s, ...	0	10	0
Paid the officer's wadges, ...	0	5	0
Repairing the Papingo, ...	0	2	6
To se man's time standing the steeple, ...	0	4	0
To the bellman, ...	0	2	6
Paid for cleaning the Lodge, ...	0	2	6
Ribons, ...	1	7	0
Pd. for advertising in the newspapers, ...	1	4	0
Pd. three fidlers, 5s ea., ...	0	15	0
	£5	10	0

Evidently, then, about 1813, all who shot at the papingo had to pay 2s. 6d. (in earliest times it was 14s. Scots), and if they were not previously members

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of the society they had also to pay 4s. of entry money. But this was all the necessary expense, though, of course, there would be the dinner charges besides. Alex. Millar, Esq., of Monkcastle, was the captain for the year, and therefore he made up the deficit of 3s. 6d. Altogether, therefore, the expense of taking part in even the gentlemen's papingo was not great except to the captain, and therefore this need scarcely have been made the plea for allowing it to fall into desuetude. The truth seems to be that at the beginning of the present century the once most popular festival of the papingo was gradually ceasing to charm, even in Kilwinning. Its day was getting over. Certainly, as already indicated, the last of the papingo sport in Kilwinning, and that means the last of it everywhere, was seen on 28th July, 1870. An abortive attempt to keep it going was pluckily made on 27th May, 1871. On that day a meeting was held, composed of "Rob. Wylie, Pat. Burns, Hugh King. Wylie, preses." Mr. King, as secretary, intimated that in consequence of the death of Mr. William Brown, convener, he had taken it upon him to call the meeting. But these devoted members of the ancient society could not see their way to take upon them "the responsibility of making arrangements for the papingo this year." How could they? The cash account was reported low, and the enthusiasm of the members was gone. But if they could not proceed with the papingo they evidently thought they might go on with the butts shooting, and so requested the secretary to communicate with Patrick Boyle, Esq., of Shewalton, "who "was the next member in rotation, to put out the butts prize." And yet, on second thoughts, they had not the heart even to do this. Certainly the reference to it is scored with a pencil as if not to be acted on. And so the whole thing went down. The records of the pastime of centuries was terminated with the stroke of a pencil. One, indeed, can hardly call this last reference a part of a record. It was only written in scroll on a half sheet of note-paper, and was never entered in the fourth volume of the Society's Record, which with the other three are carefully kept by the custodians of the silver bow, arrows, and badges, and like them are in excellent condition. So then the pastime of centuries was discontinued in the year 1870, and it has fallen into desuetude since. Is there to be no revival? There were Montgomeries and Blairs in 1688, who came to the rescue and restored the sport, which even then was threatened with extinction. And there are Montgomeries

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and Blairs still among us. Could they not do what their fathers did? And there are societies with enthusiastic votaries who like Captain Grose are often found

> "By some auld, houlet-haunted biggin',
> Or Kirk deserted by its riggin',"

and who would readily lend a hand in restoring whatever seemed worthy of being restored. Is there, then, any hope of the restoration of the papingo? I fear not. The times are greatly against it. A skilful use of the bow and arrow is no longer of any use in the day of battle, and so in this utilitarian age it does not seem necessary to practise it. And the custom of drinking healths at "change house" doors is out of fashion, and the dancing of gentlemen on the public highway is condemned as much by public opinion as was the leaping of the royal psalmist by Michal, Saul's daughter, long ages ago. No doubt the discontinuance of the old sport is not absolutely necessary. The fashion described by Sir Walter Scott might be adopted, and our practical age might use the rifle instead of the bow, and some gentlemen might despise the tittering of the onlookers and trip "the light fantastic toe" with grace and glee, as in ages past many most excellent gentlemen have done. But the times are against this, infinitely more against it than when a Montgomery or a Blair of that ilk revived it after it had fallen into desuetude in the year 1688. And if it is really to pass away, we shall continue to hold it in loving remembrance, and endeavour to see that a faithful description of it is treasured up in archives, which shall never be destroyed.

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No. XXII.

REPENTANCE TOWER AND ITS TRADITION:

BY

GEORGE NEILSON, F.S.A. Scot.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 7th September, 1893.*]

I.—The Tradition.

"Bricht shone the moon on Hoddom's wall,
  Bricht on Repentance Tower;
Mirk was the lord of Hoddom's saul,
  That chief sae sad and sour:
He sat him on Repentance hicht
  And glower'd upon the sea,
And sair and heavily he sicht,
  But nae drap eased his bree.

The nicht is fair, and calm the air,
  Nae blasts disturb the tree,
Baith man and beast now tak' their rest,
  And a's at peace but me:
Can wealth and power in princely bower,
  Can beauty's rolling e'e,
Can friendship dear, wi' kindly tear,
  Bring back my peace to me?
Na! lang, lang maun the mourner pine,
  And meikle penance dree;
Wha has a heavy heart like mine
  Ere licht that heart can be."[1]

Repentance or Trailtrow Hill, in Annandale, with its old tower visible from long distances in almost every direction, is a place with unique claims upon the attention of Scotsmen. It commands a view of exceptional extent, interest, variety, and beauty; it is associated with stirring incident in border war; it

[1] From Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe's ballad, "The Lord Herries: his Complaint," published in Sir Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. One or two other stanzas quoted hereafter are also from this ballad.

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has a striking legend touching its origin and its name; and its romantic story has lent inspiration to at least three poets, whose verse has thus thrown a vivid, if fanciful, light upon the past. Without the aid of the imaginative faculty to which we owe the ballads of Kirkpatrick Sharpe, of the lady known to literature as Jeanie Morrison, and of Dr. James Milligan,[1] it may be possible to re-light the torch of Repentance Tower with facts, and by their illuminating power to penetrate its yet unmastered mystery.

Repentance Hill may conceivably be that identical little hill which, according to 12th century tradition, rose up out of "the plain[2] which is called Hoddom," when St. Mungo first preached the gospel in Annandale, in the year 573. Its name even might be deduced from the great spiritual awakening which followed that memorable visit of the Strathclyde saint, at whose bidding the devils fled out of the district, never to return! This, however, would be a mere philological figment, and is not to be entertained. The oldest name by which we can trace the hill through the mist of far-off years is Trevertrold,[3] a word the first syllable of which denotes a hillside. Trailtrow is the modern form of that name, one of the oldest in the south of Scotland. The scope of my paper does not embrace the ecclesiastical history of this place in its various phases as a religious settlement[4] attributable to St. Mungo, a chapel, hospital, and preceptory,[5] and a normal parochial charge before the Reformation, until its ultimate passage out of separate ecclesiastical existence when Trailtrow parish was merged in Cummertrees.[6]

Of Hoddom, in its secular aspects, a few words fall to be said. The first Steward of Annandale (which was, down to the present century, known as a

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1 Kirkpatrick Sharpe's ballad has been already partly quoted. That of "Jeanie Morrison" was published in her "Ane Booke of Ballades." That of the late Dr. Milligan originally appeared in the *Annandale Observer*, and was subsequently published in his "Wimpleburn, or Village Sketches."

2 *In planicie campi vocabulo Holdelm.* St. Ninian and St. Kentigern (Historians of Scotland), p. 217.

3 *Glasgow Chartulary (Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis)*, p. 4.

4 *Glasgow Chart.*, 4.

5 Chalmers' *Caledonia*, iii. 153-4, 190-1.

6 *Acts of Parliament Scotland*, iv. 441.

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Stewartry, just as Kirkcudbright is to this day) was Udard of Hoddom,[1] a member of a family which presumably took its name from the place. In the 12th and 13th centuries there may have been a hall or residence of some kind there, but no real evidence has been adduced for the existence of a castle. The alleged castle of the Bruces, at Hallguards,[2] on the east bank of the river, said[3] to have been "demolished some centuries ago, in compliance with a border treaty," is as devoid of documentary voucher as the alleged treaty for its demolition.[4]

Very little information is available about Hoddom until the 16th century. In the 15th century it had become the property of the barons Herries of Terregles.[5] Still there is no proof of a castle. None emerges until the middle of the 16th century, and when Hoddom Castle appears in the records, it is speedily followed by Repentance Tower.

No romance has woven itself round the history of Hoddom Castle. Repentance, on the contrary, has a tradition which has given it renown as a veritable ballad-maker's joy. That tradition has divers versions. One form of the story is that Hoddom Castle was built out of the stones of Trailtrow Chapel, and that the baron, who built it, erected the tower also, inscribing above its lintel the word "Repentance," because his sacrilegious act lay heavy on his soul.[6] But another version, much more striking and poetical in character, has taken deeper root in popular mind and memory. Its oldest written form is in Pocock's "Tours,"[7] where it is stated that the tower was built for a beacon by a Lord Herries, who was an enemy of Mary Queen of Scots, but afterwards turned papist and repented of his deeds. A tourist more renowned than Pocock, the observant Pennant, took note of the story. According to his account,[8] the tower was built by Lord Herries as an atonement for

1 Bain's *Calendar*, i. 197, 605, 606, 607; *Glasgow Chart.*, p. 64.

2 Chalmers' *Caledonia*, iii. 79; *New Statistical Account* (Hoddam Parish).

3 *New Statistical Account*, Dumfriesshire (Cummertrees Parish), p. 292.

4 It is noteworthy that in the introduction to Kirkpatrick Sharpe's ballad in the *Border Minstrelsy*, no mention is made of the alleged earlier castle.

5 *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, ii. 1654, 2294, 2526.

6 *New Statistical Account* (Cummertrees Parish); Chalmers' *Caledonia*, iii. 191.

7 Pocock's *Tours in Scotland* (Scottish History Society), p. 34.

8 Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, i. 105-6.

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putting to death some prisoners whom he had taken under promise of quarter. The variant most widely current, however, narrates that one of the barons Herries, said to have been known as John the Reif, had made a raid into England. Returning across the Solway, he was overtaken by a storm, and to lighten the boat's load, he cut the throats of several of his prisoners and threw them into the sea. Kirkpatrick Sharpe made this version the basis of his ballad, which describes the luckless persons thus sacrificed as twelve in number. and makes the remorseful baron soliloquise as follows :—

Alas! twelve precious lives were spilt,
  My worthless spark to save;
Bet had I fallen withouten guilt,
  Frae cradle to the grave.

Repentance signal of my bale,
  Built of the lasting stane;
Ye lang shall tell the bluidy tale,
  When I am deid and gane.

How Hoddom's lord ye lang sall tell,
  By conscience stricken sair,
In life sustained the pains of hell,
  And perished in despair.

To examine this weird story, to bring history to bear upon legend, to ascertain, if possible, the builder of Repentance Tower and why he built it, is the business of this paper.

Historical scholars know how greatly tradition, even when well-vouched and genuine, varies in value. They know that it is never wholly reliable although it rarely lacks some reality. They know that frequently it possesses the characteristic of fiction founded on fact, preserving in a distorted and erroneous form an actual historical memory. Can we disentangle the fact from mythical overgrowth in these various editions of the tale of Repentance Tower? Or are the two now so grown together as to be inseparable? They say that of old the fairies were wont to haunt the tree-clad height of Woodcockair, which stands beside Repentance in a bend of the Annan water. Have the fairies with their spells travestied all truth out of the story of this lonesome tower? Or have they only embellished with a playful touch of fancy what at bottom may still be recognised and read as an "ower true tale?"

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Divested of superfluous detail, tradition lays the foundations of Repentance Tower in remorse—remorse for a sacrifice of human life in some episode of border war or foray. Let us now look at the Tower. Let us guess its age. Let us search for a baron Herries of that time. Then let us see if records furnish any clue enabling us to identify in him the remorseful founder, and thus to track tradition to its lair.

II.—The Tower.

On Trailtrow Hill, at a height of 350 feet above sea level, stands in an old burying-ground a small bare tower, 23 feet 9 inches by 21 feet 6 inches externally, being thus almost square in plan. Its walls are 5 feet 6 inches thick, with loopholes or small shot-holes all round. The interior is not planned for residence, like an ordinary border tower, there being no fire-places. The entrance doorway is on the first floor, and has been defended by a double door. There is a curious angle cupboard in one corner. The staircase was probably of wood. The tower has a stone roof, through the midst of which rises a beacon chimney or turret. It thus contains internal evidence of its purpose and history. It is a watch or signal tower.[1]

The most curious feature of the building is an inscription over the entrance. The doorway stands considerably above the ground level. Access is now gained to it by a short external stair, which, however, is a modern addition.[2] The lintel of the doorway has carved upon it, in raised lettering,[3] the word Repentence, with the figure of a bird at the one end and a scroll at the other. The bird and scroll have been, by some writers, taken for a dove and a serpent. But these emblems of remorse and grace, as they have been styled,[4]

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1 I am indebted for the measurements and for the architectural characterisations given *supra*, to Messrs. MacGibbon and Ross's *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, ii. 60, 61.

2 Preface to Kirkpatrick Sharpe's ballad *ut supra*, describes the builder as "carving over the door, which is about half-way up the building and had formerly no stair to it, the figures of a dove and a serpent, emblems of remorse and grace, and the motto '*Repentance*.'"

3 The lettering curiously mixes two Roman capitals (R and P) with the late Gothic character of the remainder.

4 The original authority for so styling them is Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*, i. 105.

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are extremely problematical. Indeed, it is certain that the scroll is not a serpent, although the bird may conceivably have been intended for a dove.

It is very probable that some of the present architectural features of the tower are due to repair or restoration subsequent, possibly considerably subsequent, to the original erection. There are few or no date-determining details in the work. It is safe to say that none of the characteristics would warrant the inference of an origin much before the middle of the 16th century—a date which must be borne in mind in any enquiry into the builder's identity.

III.—The Wooing of Agnes of Herries.

In searching for the founder of Repentance, we find a Sir John Herries in the 14th century and another in the 15th; but there is no proof that the estate of Hoddom belonged to the family of Herries of Terregles until after their day. Whether it did so or not, however, is not material. The main fact is, that there is no mention of a castle of Hoddom, or of the Tower of Repentance, in either the 14th or 15th centuries.

It is very peculiar that the castle of Hoddom on its present site (and there is no satisfactory ground for thinking that it ever had any other) is not in the parish of Hoddom. It is in the old parish of Trailtrow, now part of Cummertrees. There is every reason to believe that anciently the lands of Hoddom, like Hoddom Parish, were bounded by the Annan water, and lay wholly on its northern and eastern bank. Not until after the middle of the 16th century does the estate appear to have crossed the river, and not until then is there, in the records known to me, any allusion to the existence of any castle of Hoddom.[1]

William, Lord of Herries, proprietor of Hoddom, died about 1543, leaving three daughters, Agnes, Catherine, and Janet. Their guardianship and the right to nominate husbands for them, technically called their "marriage," vested in the Crown, and thus fell to be exercised by the family of the Earl of Arran,[2] Regent of Scotland. Agnes was the most desirable match; as the

[1] The preface to Kirkpatrick Sharpe's ballad, in the *Border Minstrelsy*, describes that castle as "an ancient structure said to have been built betwixt the years 1437 and 1484." I think this date is an error.

[2] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, iii. 405, 562, 581; Bain's *Hamilton Papers* (Scottish Record publications), ii. 155.

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eldest of the three heiresses portioners, the peerage title went to her, although the lands fell to be equally divided. Each of the three girls obtained one-third share of Hoddom.

Agnes of Herries, the eldest sister, a peeress in her own right, was a great matrimonial prize in an age which had as keen an eye as the present for the matrimonial advantages of "tocher" and title. Agnes had two prominent suitors—both young men of rank, power, and ambition. One of them was the Earl of Arran's son, Lord John Hamilton. The other was John Maxwell, second son of Robert, the fifth Lord Maxwell. When the long story of the strange wooing of Agnes of Herries is told, we shall, perhaps, see our way into the heart of the mystery of Repentance Tower.

The prospects of the two wooers might appear to us very unequal. The "marriage" of the young lady belonged to the Crown, and the Regent, exercising the Crown right, had chosen for her husband his own son. What hope was there for the second son of a Dumfriesshire lord against such a rival? Young John Maxwell, however, was a force not to be lightly reckoned with. His father had been taken prisoner at Solway Moss, and Henry VIII. had striven hard by fair means and foul to get him brought over to the English view of the great question of the day—the question, namely, of the marriage of Mary, the infant queen of Scotland. By the cruel pressure of Henry, Lord Maxwell was induced to hand over Carlaverock to English troops in 1545, but they were only able to hold it for a few weeks. That war-worn fortress could ill endure an English garrison; soon the Regent rescued it from the invader, and the banner of Scotland was planted on its battlements again.[1] Young Maxwell all through this trying time had proved himself an astute diplomatist, a wary soldier, and a man of determined will. Even his own father despaired[2] of the attempt to persuade him to surrender Lochmaben Castle to the Englishmen. The state papers of the period show that the officers of Henry VIII. recognised in this young Scotsman an individuality of no small capacity, courage, and force.[3]

The great public question entered upon an acute phase when Scotland

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[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 41; Tytler, iii. 39; M'Dowall's *History of Dumfries*, 2nd ed. 189.

[2] *State Papers of Henry VIII.* (Record Publication), 1534-46, v. p. 535.

[3] *Ib.* 535, 539, 543.

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positively refused to betroth her child-queen to the son of the bluff and overbearing English monarch. Moreover, mighty problems of faith and government were involved in the politics of the time. A large party in Scotland was attached to the English interest, and the country was divided against itself. King Henry died, but his policy lived on, so that war was the outcome. In 1547 Pinkie was lost—a black Saturday for our poor faction-riven land. Whilst fate was thus adverse in the eastern counties, the luck of Scotland was no better in the south. The old fighting steeple of Annan, after a gallant and strenuous defence was forced to haul down its "pensell of defyaunce" at last, was captured and blown up, but covered itself with glory before it fell.[1] The English made themselves masters of the whole shire, and the inhabitants became, to use the language of the time, "assured Scots"—they swore to faithful service of the English king and gave hostages in security of their oath. Amongst these assured Scots was John, Master of Maxwell, with over 1,000 followers.[2] Indeed, Holinshed[3] marks him as pre-eminent, saying that pledges were delivered, "but especiallie for John Maxwell." He, like the others, gave hostages; delivered to the English some of his younger relatives who were liable to answer with their heads for the due observance of his engagement. Should he waver from his word, should he forget to be a vassal of England, should nature re-awaken in him the patriot-Scot, he might reckon that it would go hard with his young kinsmen who had gone to Carlisle as his pledges, the securities for his oath.

The assured Scots and the Englishmen were ill-assorted allies. There was no trust between them. Various raids were made into Scotland, and especially into Galloway. The Scots bore the red cross of St. George[4] as the livery of their new master, a symbol of sad suggestiveness. It mattered not that a

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1 Lesley *De Origine moribus et rebus gestis Scotorum* (*ed* 1675) 465; Holinshed *sub anno*, 1547 (Arbroath reprint), ii., p. 241; Patrick Anderson's *History* (*MS. Advocates' Library*), ii. p. 105; *Letter of the Earl of Lennox and Lord Wharton*, dated 16th September, 1547. (*Record Office State Papers, Edward VI., 1547.*, V. 1) printed in *Dumfries Standard*, "Auld Lang Syne" column, No. cix.

2 Nicolson & Burn's *History and Antiquities of Westmoreland and Cumberland* (1777), p. lv. Bruce Armstrong's *Liddesdale* i. appx. p. lxxiii.

3 Holinshed, *Scottish Chronicle* (Arbroath reprint), ii. 244.

4 Tytler, iii. 65.

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Scottish nobleman, the Earl of Lennox, was their leader; it mattered not that their submission was the result of force and fear—the spectacle was not inspiring, it recalled the worst days of Scottish history when the wretched Baliol faction played its selfish game for power, when Dumfriesshire was bartered away from the Scottish crown. The red cross of St. George betokened that St. Andrew was momentarily forsaken. But not forgotten: there were a thousand signs that the heart of Nithsdale and Annandale was sound, that their Scottish blood was true. Lennox and Wharton, with your piebald army, half English and half Scotch, be on your guard! Watch your Scotch contingent well! Ye know not how soon they may tear off their borrowed badges of St. George, unswear their extorted oaths, and write themselves with their long spear points in bloody lettering, Scotsmen again.

IV.—John, Master of Maxwell.

In the end of February, 1548, a great expedition was arranged by Thomas, Lord Wharton, who was the English warden of the West March. The Earl of Lennox and he were to be met at Dumfries by the Master of Maxwell and all his men. One authority declares that this invasion was the project of the Master of Maxwell, who had a private end in view. If so, it was a peculiarly crooked turn in his tortuous wooing of Agnes of Herries.

"John, Master of Maxwell," wrote one of his descendants, the Herries family annalist,[1] "brother to the Lord Maxwell, was the special man in this "negotiation. He was, at this tyme in suite of the heretrix of Herries, whoe "was kept in protection by the Governor, who had a mynd to marrie her to his "owen son, Lord John. The Master of Maxwell, a young gentleman of great "faime upon the Border, to work mischief to the Governor for crossing him "in his suite, agitates the business, and brings it tc that poynt that two "thousand hors ar appoynted and conditioned to meet the Earl of Lennox "and the Lord Whartoune, Livetenant for England, at Dumfries. Whereupon "he delyvers to the Lord Whartoune fifteen young gentlemen pledges."

Such was the position of affairs on 22nd February, 1548, when Wharton and Lennox arrived at Dumfries. But already a new intrigue was afoot, a new

[1] Herries *Memoirs* (Abbotsford Club) p. 22. The author is believed to have been John, the eighth Lord Herries.

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move of policy subtly schemed to checkmate the English game. The night before, in the chapel of Keir in Upper Nithsdale, the young Master of Maxwell had met by appointment with his uncle,[1] the laird of Drumlanrig, who, according to a Scottish authority,[2] "delt verie earnestlie with the Mr. of "Maxwell to assist him against the English, and promised to get him the "Heretrix of Terrigles for his reward." Drumlanrig had the sanction of the Regent Arran for this proposal. "The Governor," according to another writer,[3] "fynding how the game lay, sent to the Master of Maxwell and offred the "young lady to him if he will cross again the invasion."

It was a crucial moment. What was young Maxwell to do? His word, indeed, was pledged—most deeply pledged to England: the lives of fifteen hostages, mostly his own kinsmen, hung on his good faith. But to be true to the lieutenant of the English king, he must be false to his country. It was a stern alternative. Patriotism claimed him; reminded him of the proverb that ill oaths are best kept by being broken; demanded that he should go back upon his word; urged upon him a public duty; stirred anew the proud traditions of a family that never, till now, had tampered with treason to the Scottish crown, that never had been hand in hand with Englishmen before; recalled to his wavering heart the memory of his grandfather who, with four brothers, fell on Flodden field; then held out to him the laurel of a nation's gratitude; last of all, proffering a dear and precious gift in the hand of the much wished for, richly dowried bride. Love, interest, and ambition swayed him the one way. His word of honour, and the thought of his hostages, swayed him the other. Issues of vast moment, personal and national, swung in the balance, but at last patriotism, self-interest, and love gained the day. "Being but a young man," says one of our annalists,[4] "the "hope of so great a reward maid him to yeeld and to satisfie his uncle's "desyre." He promised, in the dusk at Keir chapel, that he would "cross again" the invasion; that he would be false to England and his oath; that

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[1] James Douglas. The Master of Maxwell's mother was his sister. *Book of Carlaverock*, i. 207.

[2] Patrick Anderson's *History (MS. Advocate's Library, Edinburgh)*, ii. fo. 113.

[3] Herries *Memoirs*, p. 22-3.

[4] Patrick Anderson's *MS. Hist.*, ii. 110.

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his poor young hostages must just take their chance; that his followers would suddenly and openly revolt; and that he himself would lead the onslaught on those Englishmen, who, relying on his honour and his bond, were even then marching up Dumfriesshire as his allies.

It were long to tell of the details of 23rd February, 1548, and of the "great treason," as Wharton not unjustly called it, which Maxwell wrought that day. The Englishmen journeyed northward side by side with the Scottish contingent, till they reached Durisdeer. The enemy, the laird of Drumlanrig and his forces, were in view, and the combined battalion of Englishmen and Scots ranged itself in fighting array. But, at the very beginning, Wharton and Lennox were sharply taught the lesson of Ancrum Moor over again—nevermore to trust in the assured Scot. Maxwell and his band of Nithsdale and Annandale spearmen watched their opportunity, a black flag was hoisted as the signal, and in a moment the allies of Wharton became the allies of the enemy. "The assured Scots,[1] thinking the interpryse to be sure anuigh "conveyed for there contryved purpose, oppenlie upon the field neere to "Dusdere, hoysing up a blak pensill upon a speares point for a token, revolted "whollie and joined them selves to the laird of Drumlanrig and other there "countriemen, and thrust in betuix the English horsemen and footemen, to "the great perrill of distressing the one as well as the other." This demoralised the English force: it "pat thame abak," pithily says a contemporary diarist.[2] Yet the result was not by any means a decisive defeat; the English rallied, put the Scots to flight, and took some prisoners. "The Maister of "Maxwell[3] eschaped in great danger of his lyfe, for he hade sundrie speares "brocken on him in the chease as he fled away." The progress of the expedition, however, was effectually stayed. Wharton and Lennox went back to Carlisle faster than they came. Maxwell's sudden change of front had emphatically "crossed again" the invasion.

Wharton, smarting under this treacherous surprise, did not forget that

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1 Patrick Anderson's *Hist.*, ii. fo. 117; Holinshed, ii. 425.

2 *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 46. "The Inglismen passand to burne Drumlanrik, the "thevis tuke pairt with the Scottis and pat thame abake, and sua thai pairtis come to the "auld style agane."

3 Patrick Anderson's *Hist.*, ii. fo. 117; Holinshed, ii. 245.

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Maxwell had forfeited his pledge. The death of the hostage was the due penalty of broken faith—a penalty which Wharton bitterly exacted. The number of the hostages whom he executed, is not certain, as accounts differ,[1] but one author, not likely to exaggerate, declares that out of the fifteen hostages fourteen were hanged.[2] The bridegroom of the Heretrix of Herries was paying dearly for his bride. He had bought her with a price of blood—his kinsmen's lives.

A few days or weeks later Maxwell sent to Wharton a challenge to fight in single combat, to which the latter returned an instant and passionate reply.[3] "John Maxwell," he bursts out in red-hot words, "I have receyved your letter. "Ye wrytt falslye and call me a tyraunt lord, which is not trewlye nor advisedlie: "but if you can fynd any man of honour in that realme—the Governour who "hath gevin you reward for brekin your faithe, or others—that woll wryt so "to me in your quarrell, I shall answer hym as to the laws of armes, the "honour of this realme, and my blood requyreth. But to answer *you* who is "perjured, and hath broken your faith whereby you consentyd the deathe of "your pledges delyvered by you, I think your treason is such and so well "knowen that the same nedythe no more proffe. But with you I woll thus "end: that good it is ye axe God mercye and pardon of the Kinges Majeste, "our Sovereign Lord, for that abominable treason done by you to your "dishonour[4] whos blood (if you do not) have smarted and woll smarte and "you the chief occasion." Thus proudly Warton, though willing to meet any antagonist of untarnished honour, declined Maxwell's challenge, heaping insult after insult on him as a false and perjured man, with whom by law of arms no gentleman was bound to fight.

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1 Holinshed, ii. 246; Patrick Anderson's *History*, ii. fo. 118; Tytler, iii. 65, 66.

2 *Herries Memoirs*, p. 23. "He instantlie hanged fourteen of those pledges. Onlie one called George Herreis of Terrawchtie was spaired, being too young."

3 *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, 1534-46, v. p. 559. This letter is undated, and the editor is disposed to refer it to the events of 1545 and 1546. I think the internal evidence is convincing that it was written in 1548.

4 In a letter by Lennox and Wharton, dated 25th February, 1548 (*Record Office State Papers, Scotland. Edward VI., 1548*) printed in *Dumfries Standard*, "Auld Lang Syne" column, No. cx., the Maxwells are denounced as having "traitorouslie shewed this thar falsheid to thar dishonor worldly for ever."

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V.—John Lord Herries.

It was true, as Wharton said, that Maxwell had received his reward. Agnes of Herries was given to him in marriage.[1] The Master of Maxwell became Sir John Maxwell of Terregles, and after a time obtained, in right of his wife, the full title of Lord Herries.[2] We have thus found a John Lord Herries, whose early history strangely tallies with that of the traditional builder of Repentance Tower. It becomes us now to consider whether other facts in his career make it possible or likely that he reared the beacon tower so associated with tragedy.

On account of their being within the forbidden degrees of blood relationship a Papal dispensation[3] was necessary to confirm the union of the strangely wedded pair. A Crown charter, not long after the marriage, completed their right to one-third of the lands of Hoddom, of the £20-land of Hoddom.[4] The other two-thirds belonged to the lady's sisters—Katherine and Janet—who made over their interests to Lord John Hamilton, formerly an aspirant for the hand of Maxwell's bride. Lord John sold his interest in the lands to his successful rival, so that in the year 1561 Sir John Maxwell of Terregles

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1 Another family account of the whole transaction appears in the Kirkconnell MS., *Early History of the Maxwells*, transcribed for and printed in the *Dumfries Standard* by three instalments, begun on 27th November, 1889. "It hapened that in anno 1547 the haill "inhabitants of Annandale, Eskdaill, Ewsdalle, Wauchopdalle, Galloway beneath Cree, and "Nithsdaill to Drumlanrig, in absence of the Lords of Maxwell, being overcomed be the "oast of Ingland, was compelled to hold and be at the oppinione of the King of Ingland "and hade delyvered for obedience the pledges to my Lord Quhartoune, Wardane for "Ingland. The said Lord comeing forward to Duresdear with ane great oast minding to "persew furder in Scotland the said Sir John Maxwell and Sir James Douglass of Drumlanrig "who abaid still att the oppinione of Ingland, sett creully upon the Inglish army, and swa "drave the Inglish Wardane and his army back again to Dumfreis and from thence home again "to Carlyle, making the weter of Sullway the march and Esk as it was before. In recompence "of the whilk good service the said Sir John Maxwell gott the heretrix of the Lordship of "Herries to wife from James, Earl of Arran, then Governor of Scotland, and swa was the "Lord of Teregells; altho it was dear to the pledges of Scotland who were all executted in "Ingland for break of Scotland's promise."

2 "In the year of God 1565 he was created Lord Herreis, be the said Queen Marie and King Henrie her spous." Kirkconnell MS., *supra*.

3 *Book of Carlaverock*, i. 501.

4 *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, iv. 405; Charter of 1st February, 1549-50.

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was proprietor of most extensive lands[1] in Dumfriesshire and Galloway, amongst them being the Hoddom estate.

As already said, however, that did not include the property across the river, the lands on which Hoddom Castle and Repentance both stand. It must therefore be explained how these lands were acquired. When Maxwell's father, Lord Maxwell, died in 1546 he was succeeded by his son, Robert, who died in 1552, leaving two sons, Robert and John. The former infant lord lived only two years, and his brother, two years old, succeeded to the lordship in 1554—he being that Lord Maxwell destined to fall in the fierce clan battle of Maxwell against Johnstone at Dryfesands, Lockerbie, in 1593. In 1552 then the Master of Maxwell became the guardian of his nephews. When the four-year old Robert died, in 1554, the uncle still acted as the guardian[2] of the successor, John. He filled the public *rôle* the Lord Maxwell himself would have played had he not been a child: as guardian he exercised all the authority belonging to his young ward—and this, be it remembered, in addition to the influence springing from his ownership of large estates of his own in his wife's right.[3] This wide rule he had for twenty years, a position of commanding importance in the public affairs of southern Scotland, affording ample scope for the talents of a highly able and ambitious man. He was long the Scottish warden of the West March. In all the offices and estates of Lord Maxwell he was in theory trustee, steward, or factor for his nephew; in reality, he wielded all the powers as if lord himself.

VI.—Hoddom Castle.

Amongst the offices held by the successive Lords Maxwell, our hero's father and brother, that of Bailie[4] of the Preceptory of Trailtrow was one. Jurisdictions like that, the management of the temporalities of ecclesiastical bodies, furnished the nobility with many opportunities by which at the

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[1] A letter of 16th April, 1548, printed in Bruce Armstrong's *Liddesdale*, i. Appx. p. lxxxv., says: "John Maxwell was well rewardyt with the doghter and heyr of the Lord Herrys, for "that jorney, whech is countyt to be of as grete landes as the Lord Maxwell."

[2] *Book of Carlaverock*, i. 222, 223.

[3] *Book of Carlaverock*, i. 497-8.

[4] *Book of Carlaverock*, i. 175.

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Reformation the Church lands fell naturally enough into their clutch. This was done usually by the instrumentality of a real documentary title, as appears to have been the case with the passage of the lands of Trailtrow from the Preceptory to the acting representative of its Bailie.[1]

We are bound to presume that the powers and interests in Trailtrow, heritably vested in the Maxwell family, were exercised by Sir John on his ward's behalf. Indeed, the presumption is explicitly corroborated by a statement made many years later by the ward himself. The lord of Hoddom, in the exercise of these rights of his ward, had an eye to his own personal interests as well. He obtained a charter in his own favour, as an individual, to a considerable portion of the lands of Trailtrow, including the forty-shilling-lands of Hoddomstanes. A few years later we know by charter evidence that these lands had had a tower and fortalice built upon them.[2] That that fortalice was Hoddom Castle is manifest[3] (1) because in a title-deed[4] of the lands of Hoddomstanes it appears that the manor place of Hoddom stood on these lands; (2) because an old map (in which there is no Repentance Tower) shows the "Castell of Hoddomstanes" sitting where Hoddom Castle sits to-day;[5] and (3) because Hoddom Castle is sometimes in legal and other

[1] It is interesting to remember the cognomen which tradition gave to the builder of Repentance. John the Reif, says legend, was his name. Sir John Maxwell was most probably Bailie of the Preceptory of Trailtrow; certainly he acted as steward on behalf of the Maxwells for their interests in Annandale and Trailtrow. John the Reif may be John the Reeve—there is good Scots authority for the warrant in spelling, and for Reif and Reeve meaning bailiff or steward. John the Reif might therefore denote John the land-steward—a by no means inconceivable description of the functions exercised by Sir John Maxwell.

[2] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, iv. 2311.

[3] Sir William Fraser who in his noble contribution to Maxwell history, the *Book of Carlaverock*, i. 568, states that "Lord Herries built the house of Hoddomstanis in Annandale," seems not to have noticed that this was the original name of Hoddom Castle.

[4] *Retours*, Dumfries, No. 304, in 1680. "40 solidatis terrarum de Trailtrow vocatis Hoddomstanes, cum maneriei loco de Hoddom."

[5] "Aglionby's Platt of the opposite borders of Scotland to the West Marches of England," [*temp. Queen Elisabeth*] a copy of which is given in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, London, vol. xxii. p. 161, with a communication by Sir Henry Ellis, dated May, 1827. I am indebted to Mr. George Graham, C.E., for the use of his copy of this most interesting map. There is a passage in Sir James Melvil of Halhill's *Memoirs* (Glasgow edition, 1751, p. 67) about his meeting at Newcastle with an Englishman sent to draw a map of the borders. Could this have been Aglionby?

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writings[1] called the tower and fortalice of Hoddomstanes. I believe, therefore, that Hoddom Castle was built by John, Lord Herries,[2] between the years 1550 and 1560.

VII.—Trailtrow Beacon.

Not until about 1562 have I found any mention of Repentance Tower. But the height on which it stands, and to which it has given the name of Repentance Hill, had from immemorial time been a beacon station. Topographically its position marked it out peculiarly for that purpose. Easily accessible, visible for many miles, east, west, south, and north, and with no height between it and the Solway, it was fitted in a unique degree to be the main connecting link in a chain of signal bonfires, which flashed up the Annan and the Nith the news of English foray. In a great border conference held at Lincluden in 1448, the beacon system was carefully considered, and the various signal stations fixed and ratified in accordance with ancient usage. "Item it "is fundin statut and usit in tyme of werfar anentis bailis birning and "keping for cuming of ane Inglis oist in Scotland, ther sal ane baill be brynt "on Trailtrow hill."[3] So began the Lincluden Border Ordinance, which

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1 *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, iv. 2311. "40 solidatas antiqui extentus earundem vocatas Hodomestanis cum turri et fortalicio ejusdem," *Reg. Mag.* vii. 295. Monipennie's *Description of Scotland*, 1612, reprinted in *Collectanea Scotica*, Glasgow, vol. i. pp. 137-8, "Hoddamistanis, next standeth the watch-tower of Repentance."

2 That he was the builder is directly stated by several writers—Pennant's *Tour*, i. 105; Chalmers' *Caledonia*, iii. 191; Fraser's *Book of Carlaverock*, i. 568.

3 *Acts. Parl. Scot.*, i. 716—The full text of the passage is as follows:—"Item it is fundin "statut and usit in tyme of werfar anentis bailis birning and keping for cuming of ane Inglis "oist in Scotland, ther sal ane baill be brynt on Trailtrow hill; and ane uther on the Panch-"nat hill; ane on the Bailze hill, abone the Holmendis; ane on the Coldanis, abone Castel-"mylk; ane on Quhitwewin, in Drivisdaill; ane on the Burane Skentoun, in Apilgarth "parochin; ane on the Browane hill; and ane on the Bleise, in the tenement of Wamfray; "ane on Kyndilknok, in the tenement of Johnestoune; ane on the Gallowhill, in Moffet "parochin: and syne in Nyddisdaill, ane on the Wardlaw; ane on Rabothtoun; ane on "Barlouch; ane on the Pantua hill; ane on the Malow hill; ane on Corswintoun; ane on "Crwfell; ane on the fell abone the Dowlwerk; and ane on the Watchfell. And to ger "ther balis be kepit and maid the Shiref of Nyddisdaill and the stewart of Ananderdaill, "and the stewart of Kirkcudbricht, in Gallowai, salbe dettouris, and quhasa kepis nocht the "balis ordinance and statut beand maid in tym of werfar sal pay for ilk defalt a merk.

"Item quhatever he be, and ane oist of Inglismen cum in the cuntre the balis beand

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contained regulations relative to the maintenance of bales or bonfire signals, on a well-chosen series of heights, against the coming of an English host. One of these lines of warning ran up Annandale, the other up Nithsdale. Repentance Hill, then called Trailtrow Hill, was geographically common to both. I have seen Repentance from the Wardlawhill in Carlaverock, from

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"brynt that followis nocht on the oist on hors or on fut ever quhill the Inglismen be passit of "Scotland, and at thai have sufficient witnessing thairof all thair gudis salbe escheit and "ther bodyis at the wardanis will bot gif thai have lauchfull excuse for thaim."

These various beacon stations are, with two or three exceptions, easily identified. (1) Trailtrow is 350 feet above sea level. (2) Panchnat, a copyist's mistake for Panthnat, now Pantath (400 feet), on the confines of Mouswald and Ruthwell. (3) The "Bailze hill "abone the Holmendis" is, I think, that called the Bailie hill (797 feet) in Crawford's Map of Dumfriesshire, in Dalton Parish near the ruins of Holmains Tower. (4) Coldanis is Cowdens (603 feet) in St. Mungo Parish. (5) Quhitwewin is Whitwollin (733 feet), a green conical hill near Lockerbie. (6) Burane Skentoun I have failed to identify. (7) Browane hill is Brown Hill (871 feet), on northern boundary of Applegarth parish. (8) The Bleise, in Wamphray parish, is still well known by that name: it was called Bleize hill in Crawford's Map, the Ordnance Survey spells it Blaze hill (846 feet). (9) Kyndilknok is Kinnelknock (552 feet), in Johnstone parish. (10) The Gallowhill, at Moffat (832 feet) is a favourite walk of the visitors to that spa.

A glance at the relative position of these places on the map shows how well devised the beacon system of Annandale was—how well the framers of the Lincluden Ordinance were versed in their topography.

The Nithsdale beacon stations are not so easily identifiable as those of Annandale—at least I have failed with nearly half of them.

(11) The Wardlaw (313 feet), is the wood-crowned hill above Carlaverock Castle. (12) "Rahothtoun" was long an unsolved puzzle. One day, however, struck by the nobly extensive view from the hill at Trohoughton (312 feet), not far from Dumfries on the road to Carlaverock, I bethought me that Rahothtoun was a very natural misreading of Trohoughton in some early spelling. From its commanding position and its mention next in order to Wardlaw, I am quite satisfied that this identification is correct. (13) Barlouch is now the Beacon hill (803 feet) of Barlouth, on the eastern confines of Torthowald parish, and overlooking Lochmaben. (14) Pantus hill I take to be the same height as No. 2 *supra*, viz., Pantath hill, which being as it were the junction point of Nithsdale and Annandale, fell naturally enough into both lists. (15) Malowhill I have not identified. (16) Corswintoun (read Corswincoun) is Corsincon or Corsancone (1,547 feet), in New Cumnock parish, on the border line of Ayrshire and Dumfriesshire. (17) Crwfell is Crufell (1,828 feet), in Sanquhar parish. (18) "The fell abone the Dowlwerk" I am not quite sure of, though I suspect it to have been a hill near Dowlarg in Troqueer parish, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. Dowlarg (see *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, iii. 989) approximates Dowlwerk in pronunciation. (19) The Watchfell I cannot even guess at.

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the Pantath-hill, on the confines of Mouswald and Ruthwell; from Quhitwollin near Lockerbie: I have dimly traced its place from the Bleize Hill of Wamphray: and all these conversely I have seen from Repentance Hill. One summer day I plainly saw Repentance Tower from Holmcoltram in Cumberland, many miles away across the Solway. This width and distance of visibility explains the unique value of Repentance as a beacon station, making its cresset the chief and indispensable amongst the "twinkling points of fire" which, on emergency of old, lit up the night and warned the sturdy spearsmen of Nith and Annan to gather to the fray.

VIII.—Repentance Tower.

Still there is on record no indication of the existence of a watch tower on Trailtrow[1] before the second half of the 16th century—probably about 1562, and certainly not much earlier. At that time regulations were made, probably by John Maxwell Lord Herries himself, relative to the wardenry of the West March, and for the protection of the Scottish border. In these regulations[2] an extremely interesting reference is made to the tower.

The keeper of Hoddom Castle was entrusted with sundry duties, one of the injunctions to him being "that he assuredlie take heed that the Watch-"house of Trailtrow be keeped be the watch thereof. And in the tyme of "Warfare the Beaken, as is devised, that is ever in Weir and in Peace, the "Watch to be keeped in the house heid, and in the weir the beaken in the "firepan be keeped and never faill burning so long as the Englishmen remain "in Scotland, and with ane bell, to be at the head of the firepan, which shall "ring whenever the fray is, or that the watchman seeing the thieves dis-"obedient come over the water of Annand or thereabout, and knowes them "to be enemies. And whosoever bydes fra the fray or turns again so long as "the beaken burns or the bell rings, shall be holden as partakers to the "enemy, and used as trators to the Head Burgh of the Shyre upon ane "Court day, and thereafter intimation made in the Parish Kirk and published

[1] There were no towers at any of the other beacon stations. Observe that the wording "on Trailtrow Hill" says nothing about a turret.

[2] Nicolson's *Leges Marchiarum*, 1705, p. 135-6.

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"on ane Sunday in presence of the people, and fra thenceforth to be used as "as a fugitive and disobedient person."

Stirring one's heart like the sound of a trumpet, that fine old bit of Border law, for the first time, brings Repentance Tower—the Watchhouse of Trailtrow—into the daylight of history. This it does at a time when we know that the site on which it stood was the property of John Maxwell then, or soon to be, Lord Herries; at a time when that nobleman was Warden of the West March, peculiarly interested in and responsible for maintaining efficient the Border system of beacon signals; at a time, too, when he had his chief residence, close beside it, in his recently erected castle of Hoddom.

The tradition that the stones of the chapel of Trailtrow were used in building the castle of Hoddom, may be thought to receive some countenance from the fact of the castle having been originally named Hoddomstanes. That, however, is no corroboration. Had the word been Trailtrowstanes the case might have been different, although it is difficult to conceive that any man would, under such circumstances, have adopted such a name. Moreover, it is so very unusual to christen a place after its building materials, that it is almost impossible to believe that the name had anything whatever to do with the stones which composed the castle. The name, it is to be noted, is primarily not that of the castle, but of the lands;[1] and there is much feasibility in the suggestion that, possibly, over against them was a fordable passage of the Annan river, the stepping stones of which would account for the name. Be that as it may, it is hopeless to appeal to the place-name as any evidence for the tradition of sacrilege. It is, notwithstanding, possible enough that the stones of the ruined chapel of Trailtrow went to the making of Hoddom Castle; it is more likely that they helped to build Repentance Tower, which to this hour is surrounded by the churchyard. There is no direct evidence on the matter. The sole witness whose testimony has survived to our day was Archibald Menzeis, the Preceptor of Trailtrow himself, who, in a charter[2] of 1574, expressly stated that robbers and traitors had taken

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[1] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, iv. 2311.

[2] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, iv. 2311. The narrative of this document is as follows:—"Quia "tenentes terrarum subscriptarum [*i.e.*, the ten husbandlands of Trailtrow, under reservation "to Lord Herries of the 40 shillingland of Hoddomestanis] non solum per predones et patrie

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possession of certain of the lands, and that they had suffered the church of Trailtrow to be utterly destroyed. This may be accepted as absolute authority for the proposition that about the time when Repentance Tower is believed to have been built on, or near, the site of the chapel of Trailtrow, the chapel had been utterly destroyed—a contemporaneity which, if it proves little, suggests a good deal.

In 1570 during an English inroad the tower was injured.[1] Lord Herries having ceased for the time to be warden of the March, had sold the tower and ground adjacent to his nephew, Lord Maxwell, who had then reached manhood. Even after he had ceased to be its proprietor, it is interesting to observe his solicitude for its repair and maintenance as a part of the system of border defence. There was a bitter contest in 1578 between him and his nephew for the wardenship of the March, an office in the execution of which the latter had not been as successful as his uncle and predecessor. The rivals laid their several schemes for border-rule before the Scots Privy Council in that year. In the proposals of Lord Herries there occurs the following passage of great historical value:—

"The wache toure upoun Trailtrow callit Repentance mon be mendit of "the litill diffacing the Englische army maid of it and according to the formar "devise the greit bell and the fyir pan put on it; and ane trew man haiff ane "husbandland adjacent for the keping of the continuall wache thair upoun."

To some of the proposals of Lord Herries relative to the tower, Lord Maxwell strongly and sarcastically objected, incidentally hinting that he, as ward, had been taken advantage of in the transaction, by which his guardian had acquired the ground.[3] "Lord Hereis," said he, "being my tutour, had

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"traditores occisi et spoliati fuerant verum etiam eorum uxores et proles vi expulsi et "predones saltem eorum proles et successores tunc fuerunt recuperatores dictarum terrarum "qui ecclesiam de Trailtrow penitus dirui passi sunt et glebam ejusdem invito dicto "Archibaldo occupaverunt."

[1] The English at the same time "blew up with powder the castle of Hoddom." *Herries Memoirs*, p. 127.

[2] *Reg. Privy Council*, iii. 81; *Book of Carlaverock*, ii. 486.

[3] *Reg. Privy Council*, iii. 84; *Book of Carlaverock*, ii. 488. Last quhair he appointis the toure of Trailtrow to be repairit according to the first institutioun with ane husbandland to be gevin to sum honest man that sall dwell thairin, etc. The mater I grant is litill to effect

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"tane the samen in feu owir my heid the tyme of my minoritie." Having now "coft"[1] the place back from his uncle, he failed to see why, as a private purchase, it should have to be kept up by him for a public object.

Into the discussion it is needless to enter, beyond noting that what Lord Herries called the "formar devise" of the tower, Lord Maxwell referred to as the "first institutioun," as if to indicate its recent origin. The issue of the discussion was the appointment of Lord Herries to the wardenship. Doubtless his long experience gained him the victory.

It is probable that the lands of Wardpark, a short distance from the tower, derive their name from their association with it,[2] and that they formed the "husbandland" held as a perquisite of office by the "trew man," who on the house-head in war and peace kept "watch and ward alway."

With the discussion in 1578 ends the military history of Repentance. Of old the hill, in later times the tower, was Scotland's trusty sentinel. Its cresset, or firepan, kindling in the darkness, was the fiery cross of Dumfriesshire. But the time was at hand when the beacon-fire and the bell were needed no longer to announce with flame and clang that danger was near. The gaunt turret has long ceased to be a combatant, but as an honoured veteran, still hale and hearty, it remains on its appointed spot. It is a storied romantic emblem of far off times and things, from which the pain and sorrow have passed away, leaving only a proud memory behind. May successive lairds of Hoddom, until the millennium, be as tender of its fabric as Mr. Edward Brook has been, and is. As well he might, for, if its story is here interpreted aright, no structure in Scotland is more eloquent of the value of tradition, and few enshrine memories so human and so tragic.

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zit nottheles in respect the same is of my heretage equitie requiris the same to be no farder employed to ane common use than uthir landis and houss thairto adjacent. Mairowir, I hard na word of this institutioun quhen as I coft the said hous with the landis fra the Lord Hereis eftir that he being my tutour had tane the samen in feu owir my heid the tyme of my minoritie, na thing regarding the kyndlie takis of my foirbearis with my awin, etc.

[1] Coft = bought.

[2] In the *Retours*, Dumfries, No. 265, a retour in 1669 describes, "40 solidatis terrarum "de Hoddamestanes cum pecia terræ vocata *lie* Waird de Hoddamestanes contigue adjacente." Compare also Nos. 163 in 1637 and 325 in 1688 which respectively call it "Warda" and "Waird."

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IX.—Summary and Conclusion.

Remember that there is no appearance in Scottish records of Repentance Tower until after the middle of the 16th century. Remember that John Maxwell, afterwards Lord Herries, was the direct cause of the hanging of fourteen of his blood relations. Remember that self-interest and personal ambition were at the bottom of his perfidious action, and that few men ever had more need to "axe God mercie" than he. Remember that he was Warden of the West March, whose duty it was to maintain the beacon service. Remember that Repentance was a watch-house and beacon turret built for that sole purpose, as its structure shows. Remember that at the time, which many circumstances indicate as the date of its erection, he was proprietor of the site on which it stands. Remember his zeal for its repair and maintenance, and the fact that it appears to have been called Repentance from the first.[1] Remember the grim tradition which overshadows its walls—the weird story of unchivalrous slaughter of defenceless prisoners. Then remember how point after point of the varying tradition finds striking illustration in the life-history of this man, the friend and counsellor of Queen Mary, who led her horsemen at Langside, who was her escort and protector in her flight, her advocate when she was the prisoner of Elizabeth—one of the most singular and forceful figures of the 16th century—a Border baron, politician, and courtier,[2] but of a stormful

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[1] See citation of the words of Lord Herries, p. 359 *supra*. In Pont's Map of Annandale, made about 1608, and published in Blaeu's *Atlas*, it appears as the "Tour of Repentance."

[2] The following mixed testimony to his character occurs in a letter, dated 20th August, 1567, from Sir Nicholas Throgmorton to Sir William Cecil, and printed in preface to Herries' *Memoirs*, p. x:—

"The Lord Herryes ys the connynge horsleache and the wysest of the wholle faction, "but as the quene of Scotland sayethe of hym, there ys no bodye can be sure of hym. He "takethe pleasure to beare all the worlde in hande. We have occasyon to be well ware of "hym. Sir, yow remember how he handled us when he delyvered Dunfryse, Carlaveroke, "and the Harmitage into our handes: he made us beleave all should be ours to the Fyrthe; "and when wee trusted hym best, how he helped to chase us awaye I am sure you have not "forgotten. Heere amongest hys owne countreymen he ys nooted to be the most cautelous "man of his natyon. It may lyk yow to remembes he suffred hys owne hostages, the "hostages of the Lard of Loughanver and Garles, hys nexte neighboures and frendes, to be "hanged for promesse broken by him. This muche I speake of hym because he ys the "lykelyest and moost dangerous man to inchaunte yow."

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spirit, born to threaten and command, yet having in his nature a strange strain of religious emotional intensity.[1]

When all this is remembered, it points to a scarcely resistible conclusion—based firmly on history, but at the same time satisfying and dignifying tradition—that this man built this tower as a memorial, not, as tradition said, of the English prisoners he drowned, but of the Scottish hostages, his kinsmen, whom he sacrificed. With a burdened conscience he did as Wharton bade him, and "asked God mercy." His remorse took a practical turn and a patriotic form. It was not an age of church building, and he chose, as his symbol of the wish to expiate his crime, a beacon tower to aid in the defence of that country, in whose service, after all, the great wrong he did had been done.

> He sat him on Repentance hicht,
> And glowered upon the sea,

and determined that he would do penance in stone by the erection of a beacon turret there. In due course it was constructed. Carving above the lintel the word, "Repentence," did he not own his broken faith and confess his tragic error? Did he not, so doing, claim that pardon which religion teaches repentance alone can earn? Did he not also thus seek to appease the unquiet spirits of those hostages whose young and innocent blood rose to

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[1] Let the following note in the *Book of Carlaverock* bear witness :—

"As a memorial of Lord Herries, notice may be taken of an old manuscript volume of "Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, now in the library of Kirkconnell, which bears on the "first leaf the following inscription shewing that it was originally the property of Lord "Herries.

"Johnne Lord Herreis, with my hand the zeir off God ane thousand fyve hundreth "fourscoir and ane zeir. So be it, amen. *In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi crucifixi "furca qui me redemit suo precioso sanguine, ipse me regat benedicat custodiat confirmet in "omni bono opere hodie et quotidie et post hanc miseram vitam perducat me in vitam eternam.*

"Look upon me, O my Lord ; gef I have done any thyng that is nocht rycht in the eies "of thy mercie for Jesus Chryst thy dere sones." *Book of Carlaverock*, i. 568.

He appears to have changed his religious views several times. Early in life he favoured the Reformers, and was an intimate acquaintance of John Knox. Later he was one of the chiefs of the Marian and Roman Catholic party. He died a Protestant. The *Book f Carlaverock* (i. 497-570) and M'Dowall's *History of Dumfries* (2nd ed., pp. 236-249) deal with many points in his varied career.

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heaven, accusing not less terribly than if he had strangled with his own hand the victims, who for his dishonoured promise were hanged by Wharton on Haribee? And still the gaunt tower stands, trebly attested by inscription, tradition, and record, as a memento of his great remorse.

Repentance signal of my bale
  Built of the lasting stane,
Ye lang shall tell the bluidy tale,
  When I am deid and gane.

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No. XXIII.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON HISTORIES OF INVENTIONS AND BOOKS OF SECRETS.

FIRST SUPPLEMENT.

BY

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President of the Society.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 15th March, 1894.*]

1. When to the title of the sixth part of my "Bibliographical Notes on Books of Secrets," which was read to the Society in January, 1888, and was printed in 1890,[1] I appended the word "Conclusion," I knew, and stated categorically, that it was an arbitrary stop which I was making. Strictly speaking, I had come only to the end of the books which I had been able to inspect, not to the end of those which existed; still less had I exhausted all that there was to say even about those which had been enumerated. My opinion, however, was that these papers contained enough to indicate generally the character and the extent of the early literature of the arts and of technology, and I was content to let my consideration of it end there; but, during the last four or five years, I have found that the subject would not rest, but kept itself in evidence whether I wished it or not. Books, which I had not heard of previously, have come unexpectedly into my hands; editions, which I knew of by repute but had not seen, have thrust themselves upon my attention; copies of books mentioned in my earliest papers, a dozen years ago, have emerged from their hiding places after I had given up all thought of them; of certain books which I was fain to revere, as nearly, if not altogether unique, other copies have risen up to

[1] *Transactions*, N.S., Vol. II., p. 1.

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spoil my descriptions and chill my exultation. One result hitherto of my experience in Bibliography is to make me deny the existence of a unique book. There may be many so considered, but their single-blessedness cannot be demonstrated, and I take leave to doubt it, as a cardinal principle of the science. The duty of every one, whenever such a statement is made, is to produce evidence—in the form of at least one other copy of the unique book—that it is incorrect.

2. When I have contemplated the amount of material which has thus accumulated, I have found myself unable to ignore it. To do so would be to leave the first research not so complete as it is in my power to make it, and I have thought, therefore, that an account of the books which I have acquired within the last half-dozen years is a suitable, if it be not a necessary supplement to the original series. To obtain a proper survey of this material, however, I have been forced to deal with it in two ways. So much has been amassed relative to certain authors and to certain books, that the only suitable method of exhausting it all seems to be to devote a special monograph to such of them as deserve it. The majority of the books, however, which I have recently collected, do not require this elaborate treatment, and I have thought that these might be disposed of now in the manner pursued in my previous papers. This is all the more appropriate, as the larger proportion of the works to be noticed consists of different editions of treatises already referred to.

3. The collection of as many editions of a book as possible, even when there is no variation in the text or contents, will not be regarded with much, if any, favour by those who think that books have lost all their value as soon as a new edition appears, and that old editions should make way for new as rapidly as possible to supply the wants of "The Student," "The General Reader," and "The Reading Public." The holders of such views may not be aware that these phrases, wide as they are, do not include all those who make use of books. There are antiquaries, bibliographers, printers, students, who require to consult early editions, and those who are not "general" but "special" readers, who, from such a collection, may gather information on a variety of topics, not only connected with their own subjects, or with the author, but with the history of the book itself, and with the history of the

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science or of the stage of mental development of the time when it was in use, or with other subjects which need not be particuiarised at present. Only this may be said, that the librarian who gets rid of edition n as of no further use, because he has got edition $n + 1$, knows neither his business nor his duty.

Whatever view, however, be taken of this matter as to its intrinsic importance, the fact remains that different editions of certain books do exist, and in the present case I have no alternative but to record as many of them as it has been possible for me to become acquainted with. My aim in these papers is not to ignore the wide circulation and active life of a treatise on the arts, or to suppress the fact of its numerous editions. It is just the reverse: to give the fullest account of it that is possible for me to do, to enumerate all the editions of as many works as I can inspect. The intention is to demonstrate the extent and amount of the early literature on the arts and sciences coming under a certain appellation, and thereby the wide diffusion of interest in these topics themselves.

4. The absence from the list of any notable number of quite new books of "Secrets" under any category, and the presence of editions of so many works already enumerated, indicates, I think, that my previous lists are fairly full in the matter of separate treatises, however far they may be from comprehending all editions. I have no doubt, however, that there are still collections of "Secrets" of medicine and the arts which have escaped me, but there cannot be so many as when I first took the subject up. Of some of the books, too, there are editions which I have not seen, even in large libraries, and which must, therefore, be of very rare occurrence. Some, even, of the books to be described now are of very great rarity indeed. Specially so is the first edition of the second part of the *Treasure* of Evonymus, edited by Wulphius, for the copy described in this supplement is the only one I have come across in the last dozen years. Some of the editions of Polydore Vergil's *History of Inventors*, of Alexis' *Secrets*, some of the works on the Powder of Sympathy, the little tract of André le Fournier, and several others are extremely scarce and very fascinating on that account. They display the knowledge of the time; they give a clue to what were the topics of interest; the number of editions shows what authors were most appreciated, and were thought to have

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dealt best with their subjects. To enumerate all the rare books, however, would amount almost to a recapitulation of the whole paper; there is hardly a book mentioned in the following to which the epithet cannot be attached.

As in the original papers, the subject in this supplement is arranged in two divisions—(1) Histories of Inventions; (2) Books of Secrets. The books are arranged chronologically by the dates of their authors, so far as I have been able to ascertain them. This has the advantage of displaying the books on various subjects which were contemporaneous, and thereby the state of knowledge.[1]

I.—Histories of Inventions.

5. First in the list of histories comes, of course, Polydore Vergil's book *De Inventoribus Rerum*. The investigations which I was led to undertake with reference to this book became so extensive that I was forced to devote a monograph to it. The first draft of this was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of London on the 18th of June, 1891. The paper, however, was so much altered subsequently by additions that it has been necessary to treat it as a distinct work. The complete bibliography does away now with the necessity even of a summary, nevertheless I may mention the dates of the different editions which have come into my possession since my last reference to the book was printed in 1889. In the following, the second column and all those marked with an asterisk in the first column are in my own collection.

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[1] To save constant repetition, references will be made to the six parts of the original series of Notes, and not to the volumes of the Transactions of the Society. The following shows the volumes in which the different parts appear:—

Part I.—	*Transactions*,	Vol. II.	pp. 180-197.
II.—	„	Vol. II.	pp. 229-272.
III.—	„ *New Series*,	Vol. I.	pp. 188-227.
IV.—	„	„	pp. 301-336.
V.—	„	„	pp. 419-460.
VI.—	„	Vol. II.	pp. 1-33.

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List of Editions down to 1889.		Editions acquired since 1889.
* 1499.		
1503.		
		1507.
* 1509.		
Senant's Edition.		
* 1513.		
		1516.
		1521.
		1525.
* 1528-29.		
		1532.
		1540.
		1543.
1544.		
* 1546 April.	London.	1546 Gryphius.
1546 April—January.	R. Grafton.	Han's Edition.
* 1546 January.		
* 1546 Basil.		
* 1550 Venice, Italian.		1550 Basil.
* 1551.		
		1558.
		1560.
* 1563.		
* [1570.]		
		1575.
		1576 Lyons, French.
		1576 Rome.
		1582.
* 1585.		
		1587.
		1590.
		1599.
1604.		
* 1606.		
1626.		
* 1644.		
* 1659.		
* 1663.		
* 1671.		
* 1680.		
1868.		

The copies in the second list are rare, and two or three may be called unique, in so far as they are the only copies known at present, and are referred to nowhere else. The majority are omitted by the bibliographers,

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and are not enumerated by Beckmann in his valuable catalogue.[1] In the second list it is curious that the date of every copy is prior to 1600. In the first list the majority of dates are also before 1600. This accords with my observation that the later editions are less common, and that those of last century are the hardest to get. Of certain of them I have never been able to see a copy in any collection. This may be accounted for in various ways. One may suppose that of the earlier editions large numbers were printed, while of the later there were only limited issues. On the other hand, the book may not have been latterly in request, and the copies were destroyed wholesale; if so, then of certain editions not one appears to have escaped.

My own is the largest collection I know of in the meantime, containing, as it does, 37 numbers, besides duplicates of the editions of 1499, 1529, 1546, (1570), 1644, 1663, and some others. The British Museum contains 32; the Bibliothèque Nationale 20. Other libraries contain two or three, or may get the length of half a dozen, or even of a dozen. All these together, however, represent but a part of the subject, for there is on record upwards of a hundred different editions: of which some 75 have been described from actual copies in my monograph referred to. The remaining fourth I have not seen. A full account of all these editions, including an analysis of the places where and dates when they were printed, and a consideration of a number of questions relating to the book's history, presents a considerable amount of interest to the bibliographer. Everything conspires to show that Polydore Vergil's book was a popular and prominent one.

6. The following little tract, which is in Sir William Hamilton's collection in the University Library, was overlooked by me in my former notices, though it is mentioned by Beckmann and described in considerable detail.

> **Iohannis Matthæi | Lvnensis | Libellvs | De Rervm In- | ventoribvs | Ex recognitione Aug. Iustiniani | Episcopi Nebiensis. | M. Antonii Sabellici | De Rervm Et Artivm | inventoribus Poëma. | * | Hambvrgi, | In Bibliopolio Michaelis Heringii. | Anno cIↃ IↃC XIII.**
>
> **Small 8vo. Signatures A to E in eights; pagination [2] 76 (which is an error for 78, because 61-62 are repeated).**

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[1] *Transactions of the Archæological Society of Glasgow*, 1883, II. p. 233.

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Collation:

(A 1) Title. verso blank.

(A 2) Epistola Nuncupatoria of Justinianus to Robertus Geduinus, "Regis Francorum à secretis" ends on A 3 *recto*. (p. 3) dated Parisiis, 16 Cal. Maias, MDXX.

A 3 *verso*. Text of Matthæus' tract begins and ends E 3 *verso*, pp. 4-66 *(sic)*

E 4 *recto*. Sabellicus poem, ends E 8 *verso*, pp. 67-76 *(sic)*

In his collation, Beckmann (*Geschichte*, 1792, iii. p. 559), simply gives the pagination as numbered incorrectly, 76, and omits the title leaf.

What little is known about the author is gathered from Justinianus' preface.

Joannes Matthæus belonged to Luna, a town in the extreme north-west of Tuscany, a famous place, but at the beginning of the sixteenth century in ruins. The harbour still remained one of the best according to sailors, but the name was changed from Luna to Portus Veneris. About the close of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century Matthæus was born, and was distinguished as a skilful rhetorician and first-rate antiquary. He wrote a book, *De mulieribus claris*, which, says Justinianus, "we will make accessible to all students very soon," This book, edited by Justinianus, was printed in 1520 at Paris,[1] and it is commended for its uncommon learning and wide interest.

Matthæus began a work, *De rerum inventoribus*, which, although unfinished, Justinianus resolved to print, so that it might not be lost. Then it occurred to him to dedicate it even in its inchoate state to Geduinus, and after the customary compliments, he concludes: *Parvum verò mole libellum eo animo accipe, quo accipere soles cuncta seu parva, seu magna, quæ ab amicis proficiscuntur. Vale. Parisiis. 16 Cal. Maias, MDXX.*

The *Peplus Italiæ* of Matthæus, Paris, 1578, was re-printed by Fabricius, *Conspectus Thesauri Litterarii Italiæ*, Hamburgi, 1730, p. 369, and Jöcher (*Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon, Leipzig*, 1751, III. col. 287-8) quotes Latin poems by him. They are the Psalms, sacred poems, hymns and poems, published at Paris by Joannes Auratus, in 1576.

As for the present tract it would seem as if it had been printed about 1520 from the unfinished MS. Beckmann never saw a copy, and the Hamburg

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1 *Bibliotheca Instituta et Collecta . . . a Gesnero . . . amplificata per Johannem Jacobum Fristum . . .* Tiguri, 1583, p. 394.

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edition of 1613, he says, is so rare that the only copy he could meet with was in the ducal library at Wolfenbüttel.

Lessing (*Kollektaneen*, Berlin, 1790, Vol. II., p. 142) mentions Matthæus, and expresses his indebtedness to him for notes of certain inventions and discoveries. What he says about the author himself is taken from Justinianus' preface and from Jöcher, and he seems to consider him the earliest modern author on the subject. Supposing the work had been printed in 1520, involving its being written say even twenty years earlier, it would still be subsequent to Polydore Vergil, though anterior to Sardi, who was only born in 1520. It is not easy, therefore, to explain how Lessing has placed him prior to Polydore Vergil.

7. The history of Alessandro Sardi, which was intended as a supplement to that of Vergil, is usually printed along with the *De Inventoribus Rerum* of the latter. It will be found, for example, in the editions of 1600, 1604,[1] 1606, 1613, 1626, 1726. In my first account of it (Part II., p. 242) I had only these 1604 and 1626 conjoined editions before me, and Chappuys' French translation of 1584, an edition to which I have observed no allusion anywhere, but, as I then stated, the first edition was printed at Mayence in 1577 as a supplement to a work *De ritibus gentium*. This work first appeared under the following title:

> Alexandri Sardi | Ferrariensis, | De Moribvs Ac Ritibvs | Gentivm | Libri III. | Nunc primum in lucem editi. | Quod opus quanta rerum uarietate refertum, | quamq́; omnibus ingeniis utile ac neceſſarium | ſit, ſequens elenchus, & auctoris procemium | indicabunt. | Cum Priuilegiis. [Device.]
>
> Venetiis, | Ex officina Stellæ Iordani Zilleti. | 1557.
>
> Small 8vo. *, A-Q in eights, R in six; or pp. [16] 265. [1 with register and colophon, 1 blank, 1 with device.] The dedication is to Pope Iulius Cananus, not dated.

It is a very prettily printed book.

The second edition is entitled:

> *De Moribus ac Ritibus Gentium Lib. III. Moguntiæ, Per Franciscum Behem, Anno* MDLXXVII.
>
> It is in small 8°, *, A to N in eights, or pp. [16] 207 [1 blank], and is printed in italics.

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[1] The edition of Sardus, 1604, mentioned in the British Museum Catalogue under *Plinius* [721.b.23(2)], is merely the appendix to Stoer's edition of Polydore Vergil of that date, bound separately.

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Then follows, with separate title page, signatures, and pagination, the tract *De Inventoribus* as follows:

Alexandri Sardi Ferrariensis, De Rervm Inventoribvs, Libri Dvo. Iis Maxime, Qvorvm Nvlla mentio est apud Polydorum. In Qvibvs Omnivm scientiarum, omniumq; ferè rerum principium quoddam quàm breuissimè continetur.
Mogvntiæ Per Franciscvm Behem. Anno M.D.LXXVII.
Small 8°. *a* to *d* in eights, *e* in four, or pp. 64 [5, 1 blank, 2]. Printed in italics.
a 1. Title, *verso* is blank.
a 2 to *d* 8. Text, pp. 1-64.
e 1-3 *recto*. Index. At the foot of *e* 3 is the imprint: Coloniae Agrippinae, Typis Godefridi Kempensis.
e 3 *verso* is blank, and *e* 4 (blank?) is wanting.

This book is in the British Museum [802 . b . 9 (1)], the second number in the same volume being, by the way, the rare work of Pastregicus, which I formerly described in detail. I have a copy of the book *De rerum inventoribus* with that date, and so far as appearances go it might pass of course for a separate publication.

If this be the first edition, it is certainly curious that it should have appeared at Mayence. That the work, *De Ritibus Gentium*, which was first printed at Venice in 1557, should be reprinted at Mayence is intelligible, but how an unpublished work by the author should be appended to it is not quite so intelligible. One would have expected the first edition of a book by an Italian, which was meant to supplement a work by another Italian, to have appeared somewhere in Italy, in Ferrara most likely, as being the place where the author spent his life; but, if not there, in Venice, where the previous works of both the authors concerned had been printed.

There seems, however, to be no good ground for doubting it, if any reliance can be placed on the following.

The tract, *De Ritibus*, is dedicated to Pope Julius, and the dedication is dated 1557. In the 1577 edition there is another dedication to the same pope, in which it is said that after twenty years the book returns to him once again, only more correct in this German edition than in the former one at Venice, and in order that this iteration may not be distasteful, there is now added by way of novelty a tract on those inventions which were omitted by Polydore. This, therefore, would seem to be actually the first issue of the tract,

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unless the whole thing, preface and all, has been reprinted bodily from an Italian edition of the same or an earlier date, only with the necessary change involved in the adjective "German." I have seen no notice of an Italian edition of or prior to 1577, and therefore the Mayence edition may be the first, with Sardi's actual supervision. This, too, is possible, though remarkable in the case of a man who seems never to have gone from the town where he lived and died. But with regard to these dedications there is something of a hitch. Pope Julius III. bore rule from 1550 to 1555, in which year he died. Although not printed till 1557, the author may have written the dedication before 1555, and may not have seen any need to change it. But how he could re-address it to the same Pope, twenty-two years after his death, not only taking no notice of that fundamental change, but actually saying that to keep him from being bored by the sight of this old book, he had added something new, is a problem for which I have no solution handy. I have found a nearly parallel case in Vigani's dedication. Is it a way Italians had to dedicate their books to patrons who had been dead for a quarter of a century or so? This question, I think, has not been discussed by Mr. Wheatley in his book about Dedications to Patron and Friend.

8. Although the *History of Inventions*, by Guido Panciroli,[1] was originally written in Italian, it first appeared in the Latin version of it, which was made by Heinrich Salmuth.[2] While, therefore, on the ground of chronology that translation ought to be taken first, it seems more correct to describe the Italian original from which the Latin was presumably translated.

It is as follows from the copy in the British Museum, 7955. c. 32:—

Raccolta | Breve | D'Alcvne Cose Piv | ſegnalate c'hebbero gli antichi, e d'alcune | altre trouate da moderni. | Opera Dell' Eccell. S. Dottore | Gvido Panciroli | Da Reggio. | Con l'aggiunta d'alcune conſiderationi curioſe, & utili di | Flavio

---

[1] Formerly (Part II. p. 243), I called him Pancirollo, but the true form seems to be Panciroli. There are also two incompatible statements on the same page—the first is that I knew no Italian edition of the work; and then a few lines further on the Italian edition of 1612 is mentioned. What was really meant, though it was so inaccurately expressed, was that I knew no Italian edition prior to 1599, and concluded that Salmuth therefore must have translated from MS. Besides, I had not examined the 1612 edition, and did not know whether it was the original or a retranslation from the Latin, which was not impossible.

[2] [See Note on Panciroli's book at the end of this paper.]

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Gvaltieri da Tolentino, Dottor Teologo. | Dedicata al Serenissimo | D. Carlo Emmanvele | Duca di Senoia &c. | Con Privilegio. | [Device] |

In Venetia, M D C XII. | Presso Bernardo Giunti, Gio. Battista Ciotti, & Compagni. | 4°, or large 8°. *, †, ††, in fours; A to Z, Aa to Ee in eights, or pp. [24], 443, [1].

Collation:

*1 Title.

*2 *recto:* Gualtieri's preface to Carlo Emmanuele, from which one gathers that this is the first edition in Italian.

*3 *recto:* A'lettori.

*4 *recto:* Panciroli's address to Carlo Emmanuele.

†1 *recto:* Ordine de Capi.

†2 *verso:* Indici delle cose, ends ††4 *verso.*

A1 *recto*, p. 1: Text begins, and ends Ee 8 *recto*, p. 443.

E e 8 *verso*, not paged: Correttione.

From the MS. of this work Salmuth must have made his version, which was published at Amberg in 1599-1602. This book is uniform in size and style with the later 8vo editions, only it is more neatly and elegantly executed. Not that it is of any great beauty, but the later editions degenerated both in paper and printing. There is a copy of the 1599 volume in the British Museum.

On the present occasion I have the second edition of both parts to show. The first volume was printed at Amberg in 1607, by Michael Forster, and the second similarly in 1608, in small 8vo. The volumes are in very commonplace style. The third edition, Amberg, 1612, in 8vo, was formerly described. The fourth (?) edition, Franckfurt, 1622, in 8vo, is also got up in an inferior manner. It is in the Museum (7942. aa. 31). I am not sure if this was the last 8vo edition, but those of 1631, 1646, 1660, are in 4°.

Besides the English translation already described, there is a brief abstract of both parts in French made by Pierre de la Noue, not from the Latin, but from the Italian as well, two editions of which were formerly mentioned, Lyons, 1608, 1617. I have the later edition:

Livre Premier Des Antiqvitez Perdves, Et Si Av Vif Representees par la plume de l'Illustre Iurisconsulte G. Pancirol qu'on en peut tirer grand profit de la perte; Accompagné D'Vn Second, Des choses nouuellement inuentées & auparauant incogneües. En faueur des Curieux Traduits tant de l'Italien que du Latin en François. Par Pierre De La Noue.

A Lyon, Pour Iaqves Gavdion, M.DCXVII. Avec Priuilege du Roy.

18mo. Signatures: † in six, A to L in twelves, of which L 12 is blank; or pp. [12 261 [3 blank].

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It is rather a poor little book, but it is a scarce one. The above is taken from my own copy. There is another in the British Museum, 1137. b. 4 (1).

There is a book by Michael Watson with the following title:

> **Theatrum Variarum Rerum exhibens Excerpta & Annotata in Libb. de Rebus Memorabilibus Pancirolli & Salmuth.**
> **Bremæ, clɔ lɔc LXIII. in 8vo.**

There is a copy in the Museum, 1137, b. 6. This is partly a description of Panciroli's history and partly a sort of running commentary on it.

On this book one or two remarks may be made. It is in two parts—lost inventions of the Ancients and newly discovered inventions of the Moderns. From the first edition being dated 1599-1602, I conclude that it was in two distinct volumes, certainly like the second and third editions, and probably like the fourth. My observation is that copies of every edition of the second part are much scarcer than of the first. That may be accounted for in two ways: 1st, fewer copies of it may have been printed in the respective editions; 2nd, the second volume may have been used much more, and so the copies of it may have been consumed. The fact that the second volume referred to new discoveries may have been quite enough to attract attention, while the discoveries of the ancients would be passed by without regard by the majority of readers. They might be interesting to scholars, or antiquaries, or historians, but not to "practical people" who wished to know the latest improvements or inventions.

In some respects the second part of Panciroli's history is even now the more interesting. It is always curious to know when a thing was an absolute novelty, however old it may be now, and it is curious also to see what inventions and discoveries impressed themselves upon a man leading a quiet life in a comparatively small and obscure town. No apology, therefore, is required for selecting the following titles from the contents of the book:

The New World,	**Porcelain,**	**Alchemy,**
The Bezoar Stone,	**Sugar, Manna,**	**Rhubarb,**
Distillations,	**Clocks,**	**The Mariner's Compass,**
Printing,	**Paper,**	**Cypher,**
Saddles,	**Squaring the Circle,**	**Cannon,**
Greek Fire,	**Jousts,**	**Water Mills,**
Bird-catching,	**Silk,**	**Caviar,**
Etc.	**Etc.**	**Etc.**

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Of course, at a later date, some of these subjects got much fuller treatment at the hands of Beckmann. Still, Panciroli tried conscientiously to make his discourse on these and similar themes thorough and attractive. Panciroli's book was, however, handled in somewhat rude fashion by Goguet. In the preface to his work upon the *Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences*,[1] he refers to it in the following terms:

> We have a very bad book of Pancirolus's, intituled, *Rerum memorabilium sive deperditarum*, &c. This is, in general, a very crude indigested compilation, in which he sticks at nothing. The falsest facts and most ridiculous tales are adopted for truths. This work is an example of the greatest negligence, joined to the strongest itch of making a book. In what Pancirolus says of certain arts, which, according to him, were known to the ancients, and have been since lost, there are almost as many mistakes and puerilities as words. The arts which he speaks of, either never existed, or they exist to this day, and in a more perfect state than ever. It would be easy to demonstrate this, if the work was worth the trouble.

Goguet's superlatives require a considerable amount of pruning, before they can be accepted as positively accurate.

9. Some account has already been given of Paschius, who wrote a book on the history of inventions and science. It was the second edition in 4to which was then mentioned, but to complete the account a notice of the first edition was desiderated. This I can now give:

> Georgii Paschii Philos. Mor. in Academia Kilonienſi Prof. Ord. Schediasma De Curiosis Hujus Seculi Inventis, Quorum Accuratiori Cultui Facem Prætulit Antiquitas.
>
> Kiloni, Sumptibus Joh. Sebaſt. Riechelii, Literis Joach. Reumanni. Anno MDCXCV. Small 8vo. Signatures:)(, A to Y in eights; or pp. [16] 342.

This is a most attractive book, for it tells us what were considered new discoveries just two hundred years ago. Among these, not the least interesting for my present audience is the account of the diving-bell of Professor George Sinclar.[2]

10. One of the most important works for elucidating the arts of the eleventh century is the well-known treatise of Theophilus the Monk. In 1882, when describing the English edition by Hendrie, I had not seen, but could only

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[1] Edinburgh, 1775, I., p. vii.

[2] [His writings occupy a not inconspicuous place in the "Old Glasgow" Exhibition, which has been opened since the above was read. August 6th, 1894.]

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refer to the French edition by Count De L'Escalopier. A copy of that edition has now come into my hands, and one cannot but be satisfied with the very handsome way in which it has been got up. There are two titles, in Latin and French respectively. They are as follows:

> Theophili | Presbyteri et Monachi | Libri III. | Seu | Diversarum Artium Schedula. | Opera et Studio | Caroli De L'Escalopier. | Lutetiæ Parisiorum. | Excudebant Firmin Didot Fratres, | Via Jacob, 56. | MDCCCXLIII.
>
> Théophile | Prêtre et Moine. | Essai Sur Divers Arts, | Publié | Par Le Cte Charles De L'Escalopier, | . . . | Et Précédé | D'Une Introduction, | Par J. Marie Guichard. |
>
> Paris, | J. A. Toulouse, . . . 1843.
>
> It is a handsome finely printed 4to, pp. [4] LXXII; 1 leaf, facsimile of MS.; 314 [1, 1 blank].

This edition contains some preliminary remarks by L'Escalopier on the time at which Theophilus lived, on the nature of his book, and on the scope of the present edition. This is followed by Guichard's elaborate introduction upon the history and contents of the book, and its bearing upon the state of the fine arts in the 12th or 13th century. Then follows the Latin text, with various readings from the MSS., and a parallel French translation. The notes with which the volume closes are arranged alphabetically, and form a sort of brief glossary, though, as the editor remarks, there is much in Theophilus which still requires elucidation. The edition is indispensable for the history of the practical art secrets of the Middle Ages, but even its bibliography would require a dissertation to itself.

11. The following is the most valuable addition I have been able to make to the list of histories of inventions:—

> Original Treatises, dating from the XIIth to XVIIIth centuries, on the Arts of Painting in oil, miniature, mosaic, and on glass; of gilding, dyeing, and the preparation of colours and artificial gems; preceded by a general introduction; with translations, prefaces, and notes. By Mrs. Merrifield. . . . In two volumes.
>
> London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1849.
>
> 8vo. Vol. I. pp. cccxii. 1-321 [1]
>
> Vol. II. pp. v. [i] [323—5] 326-920.

This work ought to have been included among the histories long ago, but it has become rare, and it is only recently that I have been able either to see or get a copy. During all these investigations I have come across no book

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of more importance than this for the history of technical receipts, and for elucidating the literature of secrets down to the present time. One can see the sources from which the old compilers gathered their information, not always intelligently, for they were sometimes mere compilers without any practical knowledge either of the materials or processes. One can also see how the results obtained by the old artists and craftsmen by patient trial and practice, and by the desire to make their work as good as possible, have incited their successors to equal them if possible, and how, therefore, their methods and substances have been handed on traditionally from generation to generation. The book is a necessary companion to that of Theophilus, which deals with similar topics.

12. As a set off to the historians who have done their best to display human skill and perseverance in the inventions of byegone times, there have never been wanting the pessimists whose task it has been to depreciate these qualities and to moderate that vanity about mankind which his successes appear to foster. Some of these, Faustinus, Cornelius Agrippa, Thomas Baker, have been already quoted.

To what has been already said[1] about the *De Triumpho Stultitiæ* of Perisaulus Faustinus, printed in 1524, it seems superfluous to add anything. The little volume, however, is so very rare, so little known, or rather so quite unknown and so confusedly described, that anything that would elucidate its history might be considered of value. In the hope of finding a variation from my previous description, I acquired the copy which occurred last year (1893) in the Manzoni sale (No. 4168). On examining it I was both satisfied and disappointed. Satisfied, because it agreed exactly with my other copy, and therefore confirmed all my arguments; disappointed, because in so agreeing it gave no help towards solving the difficulties in the book's history. The Manzoni copy, however, is an addition to the list of those already known, for, so far as one can judge, it cannot be identified with any of the others. This copy is entire, having the final blank leaf. The only difference between it and my other copy is in the relative position of the red and black lines of the title page. In the Manzoni copy the red lines are less accurately adjusted, and almost touch the black lines immediately above them. In every other respect

[1] *The Library*, February, 1890.

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the two copies tally, and so once more we meet with Hieronymus Soncinus on the title page, but in the colophon "Jo. Franc. & Jo. Antonius de Rusconibus, Fratres." Notwithstanding the appearance of this probably unknown copy, the book remains as rare as ever. Doubtless copies of it exist in Italian libraries and collections, but meantime, if there be such copies, they are unknown, and we can enumerate only the half-dozen which I have described.

13. With the rarity of Faustinus' pæan of folly, copies of which are to be counted by units, may be contrasted the abundance of Cornelius Agrippa's fantasia on the same motivo: "The Vanity of Sciences," editions of which are to be counted almost by the score. The great circulation which it had shows that it responded to some necessity of the time, but it is too much to suppose that its scepticism produced any effect on the progress of science and of the arts, or prevented men from pursuing any path—whether of labour, study, amusement, or dissipation—which allured them. The book itself, however, is particularly attractive to the bibliographer and chronicler. It presents many fine points of interest; the number of editions, the rarity of some of them, the excisions in the expurgated and licensed copies, the translations; these and others lend themselves agreeably to investigation. To treat these details in full would take too much space here; besides I considered some of them in a communication to the Society of Antiquaries in London. Since then, however, additional matter has come into my hands which requires new treatment. Here, however, I may briefly state certain points of importance. The book was printed in 1530, in 4to, of which rare edition I got a duplicate in 1888. There followed some seven or eight issues, all dated 1531, and all at different places. Edition after edition appeared, and then, about 1536, the book was expurgated, and thereafter the emasculated editions went widely into circulation. The excisions and variations were tabulated by Clément, and they are useful for comparison to ascertain whether an edition is complete or not. Only the earlier editions are complete, and on that account desirable. The book was translated into various languages—French, English, Dutch, German. There are two English versions—the earlier, 1569, and 1575, both in 4to, and the later in 8vo, dated 1676, 1684, 1694. It is not probable that the book is ever looked at at the

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present day—even the English version of it—but it repays examination, not merely by its style and vein of thought, but still more by its serving the purposes of a history. It is not a systematic work of that kind, but it shows such erudition and such a knowledge of the habits, customs and events of the time, that, in its unconscious simplicity and general accuracy, it is preferable to a set history in certain dramatic effects. It is rather a criticism with a historical basis than a mere narrative.

14. A small volume entitled *The Vanity of Human Inventions* was published at London in 1666, anonymously, though the author is said to have been a certain John Wilson. In case those who come across this little work should be led by the title into thinking that the author resembled Perisaulus Faustinus, Agrippa, or Baker, in his treatment of the subject, I may say that he does not do so, but deals only with religious rites and ceremonies. It is in fact merely a pamphlet in the anti-papal discussions of the time. I have included it here only to have the opportunity of saying that it does not properly belong to the series of books now considering, as its title might suggest.

15. When bringing forward formerly Thomas Baker's *Reflections upon Learning* as a piece of shrewd scolding, I could show only the third edition in English, printed for A. Bosvile, in 1700, and was unable to say anything about previous editions. I have since ascertained that in the same year there were other two editions, one without any number and therefore presumably the first, and one with identical title page, but having in addition the words: "The second edition corrected." These two exhibit variations in the text, but I do not know how far the third edition agrees with or differs from them. This would be conclusive as to the publication of the book, but in the Library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, there is a copy dated 1699. Whether this points to a cancelling of this title page, and the substitution of one dated 1700, or to two distinct editions, is a point I have not yet settled. Obviously, however, the bibliography of Baker's book is worth looking into.

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II.—Books of Receipts and Secrets. (Italian.)

16. Coming to this second division, the amount of material at my disposal is so great that for convenience it must be divided. As it happens that books of secrets in Italian and by Italian writers make up nearly one third of those which I have recently seen, I shall take them by themselves in this first division, leaving the remainder for subsequent consideration. This arrangement brings into prominence the number and the activity of the Italian writers down to the eighteenth century, the topics which were most in vogue, and the steady demand which must have existed for information, however defective or empirical, on practical matters. The first in the list is the following remarkable work on medical secrets.

Early in the fourteenth century Gulielmus Varignana, a native of Bologna so far as I have ascertained, wrote a remarkable treatise which he entitled, *Secreta Medicinæ.* In my account of Kiranus I shall have repeatedly to make reference to this collection, but it is of sufficient importance to warrant separate notice of it here. I have consulted and compared three editions of this work in the British Museum—Lyons, 1539; Basil, no date, printed by Henric-Petri; and one printed by Sebastian Henric-Petri at Basil, in 1597. Of these, by far the most attractive is that of 1539. It is a thin 8vo, printed in double columns in black letter, with numerous contractions. The next is a little square 8vo. It is in Roman character, and is rather pleasing to look at, but the text varies considerably from the previous edition, and is corrupt. The last, edited by Caspar Bauhinus, may have been the most useful, but it is excessively plain and commonplace as a book. The editor, however, has restored the text in most places, so that it agrees very closely, if not entirely, with the edition of 1539. The plan on which the book is constructed is simple and convenient for rapid consultation. The author begins at the head, and goes through all the diseases in detail right down to the feet, describing their treatment and the remedies to be employed. His information, however, is taken from the old writers, and the result is but an "aggregation" like the more massive volume which was produced by his contemporary, Jacobus de Dondis, Aggregator, of Padua.

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17. In the British Museum (1038 . d . 35) there is a volume containing over a dozen small receipt books to which reference will have to be repeatedly made. They are chiefly in Italian of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and several are mere chap books. The earliest of them to be mentioned belongs to this category. It is No. 12 in the volume.

> **Recettario Nouo probatiſſimo a molte infirmita, & etiãdio di molte gentilezze vtile a chi levora prouare. Coſa noua non piu ſtampata. M . D . XXXII.**
> **Small 8vo. Signature A in eight; or, pp. [16].**
> **Colophon:**
> **¶ Stampato in Vinegia ad inſtantia di Zuan maria Lirico Venitiano. Nelli anni del Signore. M . D . XXXII.**

This is a book of medical receipts of the usual kind. The title is enclosed in a border similar to that on the title-page of the Italian version of Michael Scotus' *Physionomia*, Venice, 1532, from which it may be inferred that the ornament was a common one with the Venice printers of the time.

18. The first treatise on any art can hardly fail to be an interesting one. Even if it be defective, it will still furnish a summary of the knowledge of the time, which is invaluable. Moreover, there will be a flavour of originality about it which subsequent books must necessarily lack, and it will be the work of an expert who has practised the art and knows the details. This is the interest, for instance, of Neri's work on glass-making, and it is equally so of the work on dyeing by Gioanventura Rosetti. So far as I know this is the first separate work on the subject, and it is of very great rarity. Receipts about dyeing are given in a good many of the secret books, more particularly in the *Kunstbüchlein*, *Ettliche Künste*, by Alexis, etc., etc. The present work, however, deals with the whole subject in a systematic way, and not only so, but gives woodcuts of the plant required for the various operations.

The technical details are hardly suitable for exposition in this paper, and are besides so lengthy that they had better be dealt with separately, but as it is distinctly a book of technical receipts, and the only one of the kind which I have met with in the whole course of my researches, it may be described. Singularly enough, of this book there was only one edition, so far as I know.

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Plictho De Larte
De Tentori Che Insegna
Tenger Pāni Telle Banbasi
Et Sede Si Per Larthe Magiore
Come Per La Comvne.

4to. Signatures: A to L in fours. No pagination.

The title-page is decorated with an elaborate border and a curious coat of arms, if it can be called such, and it is entirely woodcut, even to the title itself.

At the end of the text, L2 *verso:*

Compoſto per Gioanuentura Roſetti prouiſionato ne lo Arſena dallo Illuſtriſsimo Senato Venetiano.

In Venetia per Franceſco Rampazetto.
M.D.XL.

L3 and 4 contain the table of contents.

There is a copy of this book in the British Museum, 1044.i.19 (1). It is mentioned by Brunet, *Manuel*, 1863, vol. iv., col. 1396; Graesse, *Trésor*, 1865, vi. i. 165; but what is of more importance as indicating its value, it is in the *Catalogue of the Choicer Portion* of the Libri Library, 1859, p. 315, No. 2362. It is there said to be extremely scarce. Brunet gives the prices which this volume has fetched: 55 fr., Libri in 1847; 25 fr., Libri in 1855; and 19 sh. in 1859, so that the Libri copy or copies seem the only ones which have been in the market for fifty years.

19. The *Pirotechnia* of Vanoccio Biringuccio, treating in ten books of metallurgy and related technical and chemical arts, differs from a large number of works enumerated in these lists in two respects:—1st, its bibliography is quite simple and the book presents no difficulties as to its own history and meaning; and 2nd, its contents are more interesting historically, than the bibliography. On this occasion, however, I must confine my remarks to the book and leave its contents to be reviewed hereafter.

The first edition, Venice, 1540, is an annoying book. When I became acquainted with it, which was long before 1882, it was considered very rare. Whether this was correct or not at that time, I do not know, but, as a matter of fact, it is no longer rare, but has become comparatively common; at all events I have repeatedly encountered copies in sale catalogues, and I should think there would be no difficulty in getting a copy of it at any time. Some of the later editions are rarer, and this is evidenced by the fact that after mention made (Part I., 1882), of the editions of 1540, 1550, 1559, and the

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French translation, 1572, there has been no opportunity to refer to the book again in any of my subsequent papers.

Recently, however, some other copies have come into my hands. The rarest of them, probably, is the first edition of the French translation, Paris, 1556, in a handsome quarto, superior in its style to the edition of 1572. There is also another edition in Italian (Venice, 1558-59), in 4°, and an octavo edition published at Bologna, without a date, but about the middle of the sixteenth century. By far the most interesting and rarest item, however, is the sole fragment that remains of a proposed and partially executed translation into English. It consists of the introduction and the sections which deal with gold and silver, occurring in the signature *4 to 8 and ff. 1 to 10 *verso* of the 1540 edition. It was executed by Richard Eden, and is contained in his edition of Peter Martyr's *Decades of the New World*, printed at London in 1555, ff. 326 *verso* to 342 *recto*. There are few books rarer than this last. Besides the copy I now exhibit I know only of the copy in the British Museum, and another in the University Library, Cambridge. The section from Biringuccio would merit reprinting as an appendix to a separate dissertation on the knowledge of mines and metals, possessed by the author in the early part of the sixteenth century.

20. As the modern scientist deems his duty to long-suffering humanity but hardly discharged if he has not published a text book on what he designates "our science," the older representatives of the class acted as if an obligation were laid on them to discuss the whole system of the universe. They did not conceal their aim, and they certainly showed considerable power in either collecting and repeating, or in inventing explanations of the wonders and mysteries which the physical, spiritual and moral worlds contain.

Among these the work of Jerome Cardan, of Milan, *De Subtilitate*, is conspicuous. It was first published in 1550; it passed through many editions, and was translated into various languages.

There are three copies of this book to refer to.

> Hieronymi Cardani Mediolanensis Medici, De Svbtilitate Libri xxi. Nvnc Demvm ab ipso autore recogniti atque perfecti.
>
> Lvgdvni, Apud Guliel. Rouillium. 1554.
>
> 8vo, signatures: α, β, γ, δ, in eights; ε in four; a to z, A to Z, Aa to Ee, all in eights, of which Ee 8 is blank; or pp. [72] 813 [3 blank].

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The present copy is a fine example of what could be done in the middle of the sixteenth century to produce a book for ordinary circulation. The paper is good and the printing clear and well arranged; the title page is curiously illustrated, other ornaments are tasteful, and the woodcuts, which are numerous, excellent. It is strongly bound in wooden boards covered with white pigskin, nicely stamped, and dated 1557, so that the binding is of the same time as the book. One clasp is wanting, but that is the only imperfection. Nothing better could be desired as an example of a book of three hundred and fifty years ago. It contains, besides p. 428, the passage which caused its author some trouble. Clément (*Bibliotheque Curieuse*, 1756, T. vi., p. 273) speaks of the rarity of this edition, which apparently he had not seen, and says: "Elle est presque inconnue."

The next copy is a French translation.

Les Livres De Hierome Cardanvs Medecin Milannois, intitulez de la Subtilité, & ſubtiles inuentions, enſemble les cauſes occultes, & raiſons d'icelles. Traduits de Latin en Françoys, par Richard le Blanc. Nouuellement reueuz, corrigez, & augmentez ſur le dernier exemplaire Latin de l'Auteur, & enrichy de pluſieurs figures neceſſaires. [Device].

A Paris. Chez Pierre Cauellat, ruë S. Iaques, à l'enſeigne de la Fleur de Lys. 1578.

8vo. *, ā in fours, ē, ī, ō in eights, ū in four; a to z, A to Z, Aa to Oo, in eights, Oo 8 wanting; or ff. [36] 478 [1 with scroll] and 1 blank (?) wanting.

This also is in excellent state, though the binding is at least a century and a half later than the book. It is more closely printed than the Latin, but it is nevertheless nicely executed. Cavellat was the publisher also of Levinus Lemnius' Secrets, translated by Gohory, and of some of the editions of Alexis.

The third copy is that contained in Cardan's works, which were collected in ten volumes folio, and printed at Lyons in 1663. The present treatise is in the third volume.

The treatise, "De Subtilitate," is a summary of philosophy, science, and the arts, and it is only as such that it is entitled to be embraced in this list. Yet, as it does contain a description of secrets both of nature and art, it cannot reasonably be excluded, even though its name does not specify the secrets which it aims at elucidating. The French title, however, shows its claim more clearly than the original Latin, since it says that it treats of "subtile inventions."

This book was long a standard one, it passed through many editions, and

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its bibliography was studied by Clément, *Bibliotheque Curieuse*, 1756, T. vi., p. 268, sqq.

The following editions are enumerated:

1.	Norimbergae, apud J. Petreium,	1550, fol.
2.	Lugduni, apud Rouillium,	1551, 8°.
3.	Paris, ap. Mich. Fezandat et Rob. Granjon,	1551, 8°.
4.	Basileæ, ap. Lod. Lucium,	1554, fol.
5.	Lugduni, ap. Rouillium,	1554, 8°.
6.	Lugduni, ap. Guil. Rouillium,	1559, 8°.
7.	Basileæ.	s.a. fol.
8.	Basileæ, ap. Henric Petri,	1560, fol.
9.	„ „	1560, 8°.
10.	Lugduni, ap. Bart. Honoratum,	1580, 8°.
11.	Basileæ, ap. H. Petri,	1581, 8°.
12.	Basileæ, ap. Seb. Henricpetri,	1582, 8°.
13.	„ „	1611, 8°.
14.	„ ap. Emanuel König,	1664, 4°.

In French, by Richard le Blanc:

15.	Paris, chez Charles l'Angelier,	1556, 4°.
16.	„ „	1578, 8°.
17.	„ „	1584, 8°.
18.	a Rouen,	1642, 8°.

An abstract in German was appended to the translation of Cardan's *de rerum varietate* by Hulderich Fröhlich von Plawen under the title, *Offenbarung der Natur und natürlicher Dinge*, Basel, 1559, 1591, fol.

Of these various editions I have managed to see only No. 2, 1551, which in good condition would be a fine book; No. 4, 1554, which is printed in large type, and is almost too big; No. 5, 1554, described above; No. 12, 1582, printed in small italics, yet containing pp. [80] 1148 [4], and got up in the ugliest possible way; No. 14, 1664, printed at Basel, "Impensis Henric-Petrinorum," who, not to be false to the firm's traditions, have printed it on soft paper that has foxed, and have made it as repellant as a working quarto of the date could be; and No. 16, 1578, described above.

21. Another of the Italian receipt books mentioned above [B.M. 1038.d.35 (2)] has the following title:

> Notandissimi Secreti De L'Arte Profvmatoria: A Fare Ogli, acque, paste, balle, moscardini, uccelletti, paternostri, e tutta l'arte intiera, come si ricerca così ne la citta di Napoli del Reame, come in Roma, e quiui in la citta di Vinegia nuoua

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mente impresi. [Device: Fortune (?) with a sail, standing on a ball, which is floating on the sea, than which there could hardly be a better symbolizing of instability and uncertainty.]

In Vinegia.

Small 8vo. Signatures: A to K in 8; or ff. 74, and table [6].

After the table, the colophon:

In Vinegia per Francesco Rampazetto. Ad instantia di Marchio Sessa. Ne l'anno del Signore. M. D. LV.

Printed in italics.

At the foot of f. 73 *verso* is the note: E tutte queste cose son composte per Giouanni Ventura Rosseto Veneto. Was he also the author of *Plictho*, § 18, above?

From its contents this is to be compared with Le Fournier's tract, and with the corresponding sections in the Secrets of Alexis which followed close upon it.

22. Among the books which first drew my attention to the early literature of technology, the foremost place is due to the *Secrets* of Alexis. It was mentioned by me in 1882, and it has recurred again and again in subsequent communications. It is undoubtedly one of the most interesting books of its class as regards both its own history and its contents. The historical detail, however, from its extent, must be considered separately, and the contents must be similarly dealt with, but the editions which I have recently acquired may be mentioned. From the book having been published in four parts, and the translations also in parts, it is hardly possible to arrange them in strictly chronological order, for the reissues overlap, and a tabular arrangement is almost a necessity. This method I have preferred for the separate paper on the subject for which my material has been collected.

The so-called first edition of 1555-6 still remains a desideratum, but I have an unknown and undescribed edition of the first part, printed in 1557 at Pesaro. It is entitled, *Secreti del Reverendo Donno Alessio Piemontese, Nuouamente posti in luce.* It contains Alexis' preface to the reader narrating the origin of the book, the contents, and the text of the six books, and it forms a small octavo volume, printed in italics, and containing 12 unnumbered and 143 numbered leaves. The colophon is on the recto of f. 143, and the verso is blank, so that the last leaf of the signature, which is wanting, is probably blank also. This edition is entirely new.

The Lyons reprint, 1558, in 16°, of the second edition was noticed in Part II. of the "Notes." I have now got another copy which is identical with it

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in all respects. It is uniform also with several other books of secrets printed at Lyons about the same time, such as the *Treasure* of Evonymus, the *Prodigies* of Obsequens, and the *Natural Magic* of Baptista Porta. These books have an unmistakable character, and the Lyons press of the sixteenth century was a vigorous and active, if not always a scrupulous one.

The next copy I have bears date Antwerp, 1560, and it forms a small narrow 24°. It is a reprint of Wecker's translation into Latin of the six books of Part I, which was printed at Basel in 1559, and a copy of which I exhibited to the society in 1888. The Antwerp reprint contains Wecker's dedication to Abbot Caspar Muller, as well as Alexis' usual preface to the reader. This reprint is equally rare with the Pesaro edition, for, so far as I have observed, it is not mentioned by anyone in connection either with Alexis or with Wecker.

In 1561 a French translation was published also at Antwerp, by Christopher Plantin, of which I have a copy. This is an enlarged edition, consisting of three parts. The first contains the first part of Alexis' secrets in six books. The second part, also in six books, translated from the Italian, is ascribed to Alexis, but it differs entirely from the second part which is found in the English translation. At the moment I am unable to compare it with any other version. The third part consists of secrets from other authors, and it agrees on the whole with the third part as translated into English. Portions of this third part belong to the *Kunstbüchlein* series which I have described elsewhere.[1] At Lyons, in 1564-65, Rouille printed a French translation, in thick 12mo. It does not coincide exactly with Plantin's.

The English translation from the way it appeared is somewhat difficult to manage, and each part has to be dealt with individually. Two copies which I have acquired are collected in the following way :—

London, John Wight : Part I. 1568 ; Part II. not dated, but 1568, both printed by Bynneman ; Part III. 1566 ; Part IV. 1569 ; both printed by Denham.

London, Nycolas England : Part I. 1562 ; Part II. 1563 ; Part III. 1562 ; all printed by Roulande Hall.

Another volume contains Part I. 1562; Part II. 1563; and Part III. 1566.

A fourth, but very imperfect copy, is composed of Part I. 1559 ; Part II. 1563 ; and Part III. 1562. It is quite obvious, therefore, from these as well

[1] *Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow*, for session 1893-94.

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as from the copies in the British Museum, that sets were made up as wanted from different editions of the various parts. These sets were made up prior to 1569 so that the fourth part does not appear in them. All these editions are well known. Apparently the least common of all is the 1560 edition of Part II. The latest edition in English with which I am acquainted was printed in London in 1615. It is in black letter and forms a substantial volume in small quarto. It contains the whole four parts, the last three of which are provided each with a separate title page, though the folio numbers and signatures are continuous. This is a convenient edition, but it labours under the disadvantage of being rather rare.

Amongst the absolute novelties must be placed two editions of a translation into Dutch. The translator's name is not given. One appeared at Amsterdam in 1658, in small 12°, printed in black letter, as seems to have been the fashion at that time in Holland as well as at home. It contains the first part in six books with Alexis' preface, and also a second part. This, though stated to be translated from the French, does not agree with the second part in Plantin's edition or any other French reprint I have seen, but tallies with the second part as contained in the English. This would indicate apparently two distinct French versions, but I am not aware that there are such.[1] The other edition, which is of the same size and in the same style, bears the imprint: Amsterdam, 1670.

23. When referring formerly to the *Magia Naturalis* of Baptista Porta, I described copies of the second and enlarged form of the work in twenty books, as published in the Elzevir editions of 1664 and the English translations of 1658. There was, however, an earlier edition in four books, of which I have two different copies to show. One is the earliest which came from Plantin's press, Antwerp, 1560, and is a thin small octavo. The other is a stout little 16mo, printed at Lyons by Rouillius in 1561. The Plantin edition is in italics, with an ornamental title-page, and is rather pretty. The other has been, and is still, a nice copy in the original boards and white stamped hog-skin binding. Of the later editions also, I have one printed at Rouen, 1650, which, like many other contemporary works which issued from the same

[1] Plantin printed Alexis in Dutch in 1558, 1561, 1564, 1571. I have not seen these editions, and cannot say if the 1658 book be a reprint or not.

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centre, is as ugly and unattractive as there was any need for making it. This edition contains the twenty books.

There was a large number of editions of this famous collection, both in four books and in twenty. In the former, besides those of 1560 and 1561 just mentioned, there are Naples, 1558, folio, which is the first edition; Antwerp, 1561, 8°, the second Plantin issue; and again, 1564 in 18°; and in Italian: Venice, 1560, 8°; and 1665, 12°. Of the enlarged form: Naples, 1589, folio; Frankfurt, 1607, 8°; Hanau, 1619, 8°; Leyden, 1651, 12°; Amsterdam, 1664, 12°; London, 1658, 4°; and in Italian, Naples, 1611, 4°. These are in the British Museum, but Plantin besides printed a Latin edition of the four books in 1567,[1] and a Dutch version of the same in 1566.[2]

24. In the case of books printed as late even as the seventeenth century, one can never be certain that copies having the same date, and even place of publication, are necessarily of the same issue or edition; they may or may not be so, but anyhow, I have found a sufficient number of instances of their not being duplicates, to make me invariably investigate any instance of identity of date, so as to settle whether or not the books are identical altogether. In a subsequent supplement I shall give one instance at least of apparent duplicates proving to be entirely different, and, with that in my mind, I was not disposed to take the following on trust, though as it happens the present examples are really duplicates. Isabella Cortese wrote a book, *I Secreti*, printed at Venice in 1565, in small 8vo. Later editions, 1625 and 1677, appeared at the same place, and have been mentioned already (Part II. 258; III. 225).

In the Museum volume of pamphlets [1038.c.4 (2)] I found what proves to be the first edition. The account is as follows:

> I Secreti De La Signora Isabella Cortese. Ne' Qvali Si Contengono cose minerali, medicinali, arteficiose, & Alchimiche, & molte de l'arte profumatoria, appartenenti a ogni gran Signora. Con Privilegio. [Large Device: Female figure, standing, with a mirror.]
>
> In Venetia, appresso Giouanni Bariletto. MDLXI.
>
> Small 8vo. Signatures: *, A-L in eights, or, ff. [8], containing title, Isabella's dedication, and contents. Text, ff. 88.
>
> Printed in italics. It contains three books.

The copy of this book which I have recently acquired corresponds with

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1 Léon Degeorge, *La Maison Plantin A Anvers*, Paris, 1886, p. 150. 2 *Ib.* p. 148.

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this throughout, so that it is another copy of the same edition. As the contents in no wise differ from the later editions, it is not necessary to say more about it at present, but, as may be seen from the contents in the title, it must be classed along with other collections of cosmetic secrets which have been referred to.

25. Pietro Bairo[1] was born at Turin in 1468, studied medicine there and became so distinguished as a physician, that he was consulted by persons of the highest rank. He ultimately obtained the title of physician to Charles II. duke of Savoy. He died on the 1st of April, 1558, at the advanced age of ninety. He wrote a treatise on the plague, which went through a number of editions, a treatise on medicine, and some minor disquisitions on medical topics. There was also a work on medical secrets, the first edition of which, as I think, is in the British Museum (1038. c. 4 (1).). The title is as follows:

Secreti Medicinali Di M. Pietro Bairo Da Tvrino, Gia Medico Di Carlo Secondo Dvca Di Savoia. Ne Qvali Si Contengono i rimedi che ſi poſſono uſar in tutte l'infermità che uengono all' huomo, cominciando da capelli fino alle piante de piedi. Et queſto libro per l'utilità ſua ſi chiama Vieni Meco. Con priuilegio per anni xv. [Device]. In Venetia.

Small 8vo. Signatures: *, A–Z, AA–KK in eights. Text ends on KK 6. Register on KK 7. KK 8 blank; or ff. [8] containing title, address to the reader and contents. Text ff. 262 [but ff. 119-120 *bis* and 167-168 dropped]. f. 263, the register; 264 blank. After the register comes this colophon: In Venetia, Appresso F. Sansovino. M.D.LXI. Printed in Italics.

According to Panckoucke's notice, there was an edition dated Venice, 1585, 8vo. This I have not seen, but I have a third dated 1602.

Secreti | Medicinali | Di M. Pietro Bairo | Da Tvrino, | Già Medico di Carlo II. Duca di Sauoia. | Nei Qvali Si Contengono | i rimedij, che ſi poſſono vſar in tutte l'infermità, | che vengono all' huomo, cominciando da capelli | fino alla pianta de piedi. | Con nuoua giunta poſta nel fine: | Et queſto Libro per l'utilità ſua ſi chiama, | Vieni Meco. | [Vignette, St. George and the Dragon.]

In Venetia, MDCII. | Appreſſo Nicolò Tebaldini. |

Small 8vo. †, A to Z, Aa to Kk in eights, but Kk 7 and 8 possibly blank, or containing the device or colophon, wanting; or ff. [8] 262. Printed in italics.

This is a general treatise on the art of healing, and is topographically arranged like the works of Jacobus Paduanus and Varignana. Impressed by the vastness of the subject, he endeavoured to bring it into reasonable compass,

[1] Panckoucke, *Biographie Médicale*, I. p. 509. He is responsible for the dates.

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and as it saved the practitioner the trouble of constantly referring to the great authorities, he, like Valescus de Taranta, called his book *Vieni Meco*, Vade Mecum. He cannot therefore claim that title as original.

The medicines employed are sometimes of a startling character—such as suffumigation by a dead man's tooth, which must have been used for the occult virtues of the tooth or of its owner, rather than for any other reason. Extraordinary remedies, however, formed the rule, so long as physicians knew neither the physiology nor the pathology of the human economy.

26. Notwithstanding the way in which Fioravanti was denounced as a quack, his books maintained their circulation. In addition to those already shown and described, I have here some fresh copies to exhibit. One is a copy in Italian of his *Secreti Rationali* in five parts, printed at Venice in 1630. There is nothing noteworthy about the volume, except that it is in the chap-book style of the period.

The other is the first edition of the French translation of the *Miroir Vniversel des Arts et Sciences en General, . . . diuisé en trois liures*, by Gabriel Chappuys. It was printed in 1584 at Paris by Cavellat, who was also the printer of Cardan's *Livres de la Subtilité*, mentioned above. It is an 8vo, and this copy has been much read and thumbed. Chappuys' editions must have been popular, for I have never succeeded in meeting with any of them in good condition. The second edition, 1586, was mentioned in Part II., p. 251.

Fioravanti's Discourse upon Chirurgery went through several editions. The first edition of the English translation was printed at London by Thomas East in 1580, in small 4to, and in black letter (Part V., p. 452). In addition to a copy of this first edition, I have got also a later one, edited by Richard Booth, Gent., and printed at London by Edward Allde in 1626. This is also a small 4to, 2 leaves, sigs. B to Q in fours, R in two, or pp. [4] 117 (misprint for 118) [6], and to this, as in the other, are added "most notable "secrets found out by the said Authour."

The later edition differs from the earlier one by omitting Hester's dedication to the Earl of Oxford and the coat of arms, Hester's address to the reader, and Fioravanti's address to the reader, and by inserting an address to the reader by Richard Booth. At the end is also added, in the second edition, "the making of certaine precious waters taken out of John Vigo, Chirurgion."

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27. A book devoted entirely to medical secrets, without the admixture of anything artistic or technical, was composed by another Italian:

> Maravigliosi Secreti Di Medicina E Chirvrgia, Dell' Eccellente Medico Il S. Gio. Battista Zapata Nvovamente Ritrovati. Con l'aggiunta d'altri fecreti, raccolti dalli fuoi Difcepoli. Con Licenza De' Svperiori, & Priuilegio per anni XX.
> In Roma, Per Tito, E Paolo Diani. M. D. LXXXVI.
> 8vo. Signatures: a, b in eights, c in four, A to R in eights, or pp. [40] 272.

This volume presents a rather peculiar appearance by the pages being surrounded by lines, by the catchwords, the marginal rubrics, and the running title being divided off by lines, and by the chapters and their titles being separated by three lines. Though this book deals professedly with the treatment of a great number of ailments, and explains the preparation of the necessary remedies, it contains incidentally a good deal of chemistry as applied to pharmacy. This makes it valuable for the history of the science, for here we get the processes employed three hundred years ago for preparing certain well-known compounds, uncomplicated by any theoretical views about elements or transmutation. Amongst these, Chapter XV. is of special importance, for, according to it, Zapata had invented a method of making oil of vitriol:[1] *Oglio di vetriolo, secondo la nostra inuetione*, p. 127. He had also various compounds of antimony, a "litharge water" or solution of litharge in acetic acid, and other preparations, which may be omitted at present.

There are other editions: Venice, 1641, 1677; in Latin, Ulm, 1696; in German, Franckfurt-a-M., 1605; all of which are in the British Museum.

Zapata seem to be very little, if at all, known, as his name does not occur in the biographical dictionaries.

In the Bodleian Catalogue (Oxon. 1843, III., p. 411) there is this entry:

> Scientia (Gioseppe)
> Li maravigliosi secreti di medicina e chirurgia, raccolti dalla prattica di Gio. Battista Zapata.
> 8°. Venet. 1595.

I have not seen this copy.

---

[1] This process is quoted by Caneparius under the title, "Oleum Vitrioli potabile ex Zapata," in his book *De Atramentis*, Roterodami, 1718, Lib. VI., cap. xi., p. 479, for which see § 36 below.

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28. It so happens, by the accident of date, that most of the items contained in the volume of pamphlets already quoted (B.M. 1038. d. 35), have come all together. They are small, require no comment, are mostly anonymous, and several have no dates. In their case I have risked 1620 as about the probable time of their publication. Those which have dates present, of course, no difficulty. They begin with 1600, 1604, 1606, then five belong to about 1620? and one is dated 1626. They are as follows:—

> Tesoro Di Varii Secreti Natvrali. Tratta da diuerſi Auttori famoſiſſimi, & più volte ſprementati in molte perſone, Opera molto gioueuole alla ſanità de' corpi humani, Con la dichiaratione di molti dubij. Et il modo di far & conſeruar il Vino. Con Licenza de i Superiori.
> In Venetia, MDC. Appreſſo Gio. Battiſta Bonſadino.
> Small 12mo. Sig. A in 12.

There is nothing special about this except the preparation of wine. The first part contains some remedies for common disorders. (1038. d. 35 (4)).

This was followed by a book with a similar title. (1038. d. 35 (11)). It is, in fact, a reprint of a portion of the above, in chap book form.

> Tesori Di Varii Secreti Natvrali. Raccolti da diuerſi Eccellentiſs. Auttori. [Device.]
> Stampata in Venetia, e riſtampata in Verona, Per Franceſco dalle Donne. 1604.
> Small 8vo. Title within a narrow border. Sig. A 4.

29. In the same volume [1038 . d . 35 (8)], under Antonio Venetiano, there is the following:

> Opera Nella qualle trouerai molti belliſsimi Secreti. Vtili, Et Neceſsarii li quali ſono ſtati eſperimentati. Nouamente dati in luce, per beneficio d'ogni corpo humano. Ad' inſtantia d'Antonio Viniciano. [Vignette.]
> Stãpata in Papoa con licentia ſuperiori.
> Small 8vo. A in 4. Chap-book, no date, but about 1620.

The vignette is a man with a bagpipe sitting, one with a staff standing, a dog, and some sheep, two trees, and a house or two in the background. It is a very large display for such meagre results, for there are only a few medical receipts for burns, worms, deafness, white hands, and for sleep.

30.

B.M., 1038 . d . 35 (9):

> Secreti Mirabili Per diuerſe infirmità ſperimentati Da molti Eccellentiſſimi Medici, cauati da diuerſi Authori. Et io Oratio di Gouerri hauendone fatto

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l'eſperienza, mi è parſo di metterli in luce, a beneficio, & ſanità de gli corpi humani.

Small 8vo. Title enclosed in a broad border. No date, place, or printer, but about 1620.

Sig. A in 8. Printed in italics. Last leaf contains the table.

These secrets are entirely medical, and, though similar to the other collections, are different from them.

31.

B.M., 1038. d. 35 (10):

Secreti Vtilissimi e nuoui. Doue s'intendono molti particolari vtili per ſalute delli corpi humani. Nuouamente poſti in luce, ad inſtanza del Peſarino gran Giocator di mano. [Device, the full sun.]

Stampati in Breſcia, con licenza de' Superiori. E riſtampato in Verona.

Small 8vo. A in 4. Italics. No date [1620].

Miscellaneous receipts—to make hair grow, to remove hair, to make strong vinegar, against intestinal worms, to send a secret letter *(by a carrier pigeon)*, etc., etc.

One cannot expect very much of a chap-book of four small leaves.

32.

B.M., 1038. d. 35 (13):

Giardino Et Fioretto De Secretti. Tradotto da molti Autori, sì antichi, come Moderni, à beneficio di ogni perſona. Con Gratie, & Priuilegij. [Device.]

Stampato in Venetia, ad inſtantia di Fiorauanti Cortese.

Small 8vo. Sig. A in 4. The title is within a narrow border. The device is a winged lion holding a book, with a tower in the background.

This is a collection of receipts like the others. It is a chap-book about 1620. The author, or printer, or publisher seemed to know what he was about when, with a touch of humour, he put the names of Fioravanti and Cortese together as concerned in its publication.

33.

B.M., 1038. d. 35 (14):

Il Medicinal Tesoro. Di Vespasiano Angelico Cittadino Veroneſe. Opera a chi brama la Sanità vtiliſſima, Con alcuni ſecreti Filoſofici. Nouamente stampato, con licenza del collegio di Medici di Padoa, Et di Signori Superiori.

Small 8vo. Ornamental border round the title. ff 4. No signature, no date. An early 17th century chap book. Same kind of collection as the others.

Vespasiano Angelico seems to be a pseudonym, but I have not found the name noted as such by Placcius or by Melzi.

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34.

B.M., 1038. d. 35 (7):

Centvria Di Secreti Politici, Cimichi, e Naturali; Difpenfati da mè Francesco Scarioni da Parma. A' requifitione de' Spiriti curiofi, & amatori di virtù.

In Venetia, Verona, Parma, Lodi, Milano, Bologna, & in Padóua per Pietro Paolo Tozzi. M.DC.XXVI. Con Licentia de' Superiori.

Small 8vo. Sig. A in 8.

Contains 100 brief receipts, and an index of them. Scarioni may be the author. I have not been able to check him, but there is just a suspicion of quackery in putting half-a dozen places on the title-page of a pamphlet of eight leaves.

35. Glassmaking, of all the arts, is one of the oldest and most interesting, and the literature relating to it, though quite modern, is also interesting. The oldest work on the subject, that of Neri, is a rather fascinating production. The interest of it lies in the light it throws on this branch of technical chemistry, for the chronology of the book is quite simple. A discussion, however, of the contents must be undertaken elsewhere. Besides another copy of the rare first edition of 1612, and of the English translafion of 1662, I can show a copy of a reprint, in cheap form, Firenze, 1661. The book is apparently hardly out of date even yet in Italy, for I have also a copy dated Milan, 1817, which would indicate that the demand for it continued two hundred years. There is also here the reprint of the English translation, which appeared in a preposterous folio at Middlehill, in 1826. There are other editions in the British Museum, but the account of them must be reserved in the meantime. Immediately connected with Neri's art of glass is the German translation of it amplified with annotations by Johann Kunkel. The edition of this work of 1679 has been already mentioned by me. I have now got a reprint of it dated 1689. There is no essential difference between these issues. Geissler's German translation I formerly said (Part II., p. 268) contained nine plates, but in a copy which I have since acquired there are ten plates. The French work on glass by Blancourt was previously noticed. At the time I had the English translation in one volume, dated 1699—indicative of an earlier French version. Such I have not seen, but I have one in two volumes, 12°, printed at Paris in 1718. No allusion is made to Neri, but it is essentially based on Neri's book, and the illustrations are practically the

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same as his. At all events in any review of Neri's book and art, it would be necessary to take into account both these translations as illustrating the original work.

36. In a handsome quarto volume the monograph of Caneparius *De Atramentis* was reprinted at Rotterdam in 1718. The earliest edition I know of and have already mentioned was printed at Venice in 1619,[1] and an edition appeared at London in 1660. Both of these are inferior in style to the edition of 1718. The London edition differs from that of Venice by the omission of the long table of contents of the six sections into which the book is divided. The Rotterdam edition also omits this important table, but in it the table of authorities is re-arranged in a more strictly alphabetical order. The text, so far as I have compared the present with the earliest edition, is a literal reprint without modification or addition. It is well worth observing that a treatise on such a practical subject as is discussed in this volume could literally stand still for a whole century, and be then reprinted without change, presumably for the use of those interested in it. One can only suppose that the subject itself stood still for a hundred years. This, however, would not be correct, for in the interval a very great deal had been done to elucidate the nature of salts and their reactions, the making of sulphuric acid by the bell had been introduced, and there had been a great deal of discussion about the nature of the chemical elements or principles, and on the cause of combustion. The author, of course, was not alive to take cognisance of these changes, but it is instructive to consider that nothwithstanding its being behind all these advances, it was still thought worth reprinting for practical purposes. It would hardly be possible to reprint a book on a practical technical art published at the end of last century for use at the present moment.

At the present time, however, Caneparius's book is full of interest to the student of the history of chemistry. The first part treats of pyrites and analogous minerals, and of various theoretical questions which arise out of it as to the generation of metals, the nature of fire, etc.; the second part of metallic *atraments;* part three is devoted specially to green vitriol; part four to different kinds of writing and printing inks; part five to inks of different

[1] There is said to be an edition of Venice, 1618; Clément, *Bibliothèque Curieuse*, 1756, T. vi., p. 195.

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colours, and incidentally to pigments, including cinnabar, red lead, lapis lazuli, etc., etc. The last book is taken up entirely with oil of vitriol.

37. The fertility of Italian writers in producing these books of secrets is evinced by another, which is quite new to me. It is entitled:

> De' Secreti Vniversali Di D. Timoteo Rosselli. Parte Prima, Si per huomini, & donne di alto ingegno, come ancora per Medici, & ogni sorte di Artefici induſtrioſi, & ad ogni perſona virtuoſa accomodati. Con Privilegio.
>
> In Venetia MDCXXXXIV. Appreſſo il Barezzi.
>
> 8vo. Signatures: a, A to R, in eights, or ff. [8] 136.
>
> Parte Secondo; *Nella quale ſi contengono innumerabili rimedi vtili a diuerſe infermità, & altre coſe belliſſime, ingegnoſe & artificioſe.* a, A to Q in eights, R 4; or ff. [8] 132. The second part has a distinct title.

It is in two parts, and the contents fully confirm its title, for it gives receipts for every conceivable contingency in medicine and practical arts. How far the author is a compiler it is not easy to determine, but I should suppose that he has not been loth to avail himself of the collections of the pioneers along the same path, such as Alexis and the author of the *Kunstbüchlein*. The determination, however, of that point would lead me into a discussion of the contents, for which this is hardly a fitting time and place.

38. Auda's *Breve Compendio di Maravigliosi Secreti*, in four divisions, dedicated to Francesco Maria Febei, was printed at Rome in 1663. It was already in its fifth edition, to which were added other "bellissimi Secreti" by the author. It is an 8vo volume, printed roomily with nice legible type, and it contains †, ††, A to V, all in eights; X in three, or pp. [32] 326. X 4, probably blank, is wanting. There is a copy in the British Museum, 1038. d. 17.

An edition of later date purports to be the same. The title is as usual, the most important part being this addition:

> In queſta quinta impreſſione ricorretto, & ampliato di belliſſimi Secreti dall' iſteſs' Autore.
>
> It was printed: In Torino, Per Gio. Sinibaldo. M.DC.LXV, and forms a small square 8vo, sigs. +, A to Y in eights, or pp. [16] 352.

The additional secrets, if we may trust the bastard title which ushers them in, appeared for the first time "in queſta vltima impreſſione di Torino," enlarged by the author to more than double, "with most beautiful and useful

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secrets." To check this statement it would be necessary to compare this fifth edition with the fifth edition of Rome, which I have not been able to do.

Then there appeared in 1673, both at Venice (B.M. 1038. a. 16), and at Bologna (B.M. 1038. c. 23), an edition in 12mo. These books are much less pleasant to deal with than that of Rome, 1663. They are larger, however, containing a few extra receipts at the end. Otherwise the three copies are identical. There came another dated "Venetia, 1676. A San Giuliano. Appresso Giacomo Zini." It is a mere reprint, and the added secrets are put in without any reference to their source. It agrees with the Venice edition of 1692, formerly described, being in 12mo, and containing: ✠ in ten, A to M in twelves, N in fourteen, or pp. [20] 316.

Whether any editions appeared under Auda's name subsequent to 1692, I do not know. If there were, the success of the book, which in various editions carried it through an interval of not less than fifty years, was sufficiently assured to make Auda indisposed to withdraw his name from it. It forms, therefore, a bit of a bibliographical puzzle to know why, in 1711, the book appeared not only without Auda's name, but with the entirely new name of Quinti.

39. Allusion has already been made (Part IV., p. 322) to a small volume by a Dr. Quinti in French, which purports to be a translation from the Italian, but which is neither more nor less than a version of Auda's Secrets. My notion then was that Quinti had translated the book, and had claimed the authorship, for he speaks of the original Italian having been often printed; or else that Quinti was merely a fictitious name for Auda. Auda's book goes back to 1663 at least; Quinti's translation "printed at Venice and sold at Liege"—a rather queer sort of mixture—is dated 1711, so that the two names may have been used by one person.

The following, however, which I found in the British Museum (1035.a.35), seems to have been the original of the French translation:

> Maravigliosi | Secreti | Medicinali | Chimici | Sre. Giuseppe Quinti, | Doctore di Venetia. | Ricolte per molti cure & lavori, che | ſono ſtati da egli ſteſſo iſperimenta- | ti, & provati più volte in parecchie | infermite. |
> Venetia, | Et ſi vendono | Leodii, Dal J.F. Broncart, | in Supremo-Ponte | M.DCCXI.
> Small 12mo, *, A to O in twelves, pp. [24] 336.

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*1 is an engraved frontispiece. The rest of the signature is occupied by the title, dedication to "Molt Illustre Sign," by Quinti, and is dated: Milano li 23 Decembre, 1702 (not dated in the French version), followed by the preface, Sonnets and Tavola as in Auda's edition. Then follows the text. Some of the receipts are differently arranged in Auda's and Quinti's editions, but practically the two books are identical. The French version runs parallel with this even to the place and date, but the two differ in the last book. The variation, however, does not affect the fact of their simultaneous—or seeming simultaneous—publication, and it makes it still more difficult to understand how Quinti, if different from Auda, could reprint the book of the latter with his own name, and then in a French version refer to the Italian original which, he says, had gone through several editions. And if Quinti was a name assumed by Auda late in life, what did he mean or gain by it?

In his dedication to some illustrious person, not named, Quinti says:

> Ces Secrets de Medecine que je fais paroître au jour, ont été si bien reçûs du Public, qu'encore qu'ils ayent été imprimez plusieurs fois à Venise; on n'a pas laissé de les redemander avec empressement aussi-tôt que les Exemplaires en ont été distribuez: C'est pourquoi afin d'obliger tout le monde & principalement ceux de ma profession, & leur donner une plus grande intelligence & plus de facilité en cet Art, je fais imprimer de nouveau ces Secrets, avec l'augmentation d'un quatriéme Livre. J'espere qu'il sera aussi bien reçû que les trois autres qui avoient paru ci-devant:

and then adds the usual flourish about the protection of the Tres-Illustre Seigneur, which it is unnecessary to quote.

This is ingeniously put, for while it might and does leave the impression that Quinti is speaking of a book of his own, he does not say it in so many words, although on the title-page, both of the Italian and French, the book is ascribed to him. At the moment I have no explanation to suggest as to this republication of Auda's collection under another author's name.

40. Auda was the author of a treatise on the theory and practice o pharmacy. It is entitled:

> Practica | De' | Spetiali | Che per modo di Dialogo con- | tiene gran parte anco di | Theorica. | Opera | Vtile, e neceſſaria per queſti, che deſiderano | ben comporre li Medicamenti. | . . . | Con vn Trattato delle Confettioni noſtrane | per vſo di Caſa. | Et vna nuoua aggiunta de' Segreti vtiliſſimi. | . . . | In Venetia, M.DC.

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LXXIV. | Preſſo gli HH: di Gio: Battiſta Ceſtari | A ſpeſe di Zaccaria Conzatti. | . . .

Small 12mo. Sigs. A to O in twelves; or pp. [1-12] 13—329 [5]. O12, probably blank, is wanting.

The Trattato delle Confettioni and the Nvova Aggivnta Di Secreti have title-pages both dated M.DC. LXXIII., both included in the signatures and pagination.

The first or theoretical part gives explanation about operations and general descriptions of certain drugs. Then follow electuaries, pills, syrups, lozenges, plasters, oils, waters, etc., etc. The second tract deals with a few preserves, olives, citron peel, etc. The additional admirable and useful secrets are receipts for alleviating certain troubles and maladies, both external and internal.

From the fact that these are said to be added, I presume this is not the first edition of the book, but I have no means of ascertaining, as it is not mentioned by any of the authorities I have consulted, and there is no copy of the book in the British Museum.

41. Among the little medical secret books which swarmed in Italy in the seventeenth century, was this:

Secreti Medicinali Del Sig: Alessandro Ventvrini Ne' quali ſi contengono i più ſcelti rimedi, che ſi cauano da gli Animali per ſalute dell' Huomo. Nuouamente accreſciuti d' importanti Secreti dal Sig. Francesco Pignocatti Al Molt' Illuſtre Sig Il Sig Gasparo Bassi.

In Bologna, M.DC.LXXII. Per Gio: Recaldini. Con licenza de' Super.

Small 12mo. Signatures: 4 leaves, A to E in twelves, F in eight. Pagination: [8] 136.

This is apparently an Italian chap book; anyhow it is shabby enough to have been an English one. It has, however, the merit not merely of being an entirely new book to me, but of dealing with a new subject in a way to which I remember no strict parallel, and only a partial resemblance in the works of Lovell and of Schröder. It gives a very brief summary of all the drugs obtainable from man and other animals. It is, therefore, strictly a book of medicines, rather than a book of medical secrets, for it would require a counterpart, or at least an index of diseases, with reference to all the drugs useful for these.

These are the various Italian collections which I have either acquired or examined during the last few years. Considering their number, and that a

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proportion of them are quite new, I should infer not that this is an end of them, but that there must be a considerable number still, especially of chap-books. Accident may bring some more of these into daylight, as it has already done with those described.

In the next part of this supplement, I shall consider another portion of the books which I have collected.

Note to § 8. October 10th, 1894.

In the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels I have found, since my paper was in type, some additional information as to Panciroli's book. A copy of it was in Van Hulthem's collection, and appended to the entry in the catalogue (*Bibliotheca Hulthemiana, ou Catalogue Méthodique de la riche et precieuse Collection de Livres et des Manuscrits délaissés par M. Ch. Van Hulthem.* Gand, 1836. 5 Tomes, 8vo) there is the following note:

> Traité curieux, dont la traduction par *Salmuth* parut en 1599 avant l'original, composé pour le duc de Savoie. Comme on ne peut retrouver la copie du texte primitif, Gualterio, à la prière des neveux de Panciroli, suit l'ouvrage en italien, d'après le texte latin. Voy. *Biogr. univ.* vol. 32, p. 479, et la note.

This is an unexpected confirmation of the suggestion made in my note to § 8, that the Italian edition might have been re-translated from the Latin.

In the same library I found the only copy I have met with of the first edition of the second part, accompanying the first edition of the first part: 1599 and 1602. The 1599 volume is also in the British Museum, as I have already said, but not that of 1602. No apology, therefore, is required for the following account of the first issue of this book:

> Rervm | Memorabilium | Iam Olim | Deperditarum: | & contrà | Recens Atqve Ingeniose | Inventarum: | Libri duo, | à | Gvidone Pancirollo: | Ic. Clariss. | Italicè primum conſcripti, nec unquam | hactenus editi: | Nunc verò & Latinitate donati, & Notis quam- | plurimis ex ICtis, Hiſtoricis, Poëtis & Phi- | lologis illuſtrati | Per | Henricum Salmuth. |
>
> Ambergae, | Typis Forſterianis, | Cum privilegio. | M. D. IC. |
>
> Small 8vo. Signatures:)(, A to Z, Aa to Zz, Aaa to Ccc, in eights; or pp. [16] 752, 31 [1 blank]; last leaf, blank (?), is wanting.

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Signature)(contains the Title, Salmuth's Præfatio to Frederick Count Palatine, dated: Amberg, 5th March 1599, Joachim Camerarius to Salmuth, commendatory verses, titles of the chapters, and a quotation from Scaliger. The text occupies pp. 752. Then follow a list of laws discussed in the book, Index Rerum et Verborum, and Errata.

On Ccc 7 *recto* is Forster's device, and beneath:

Ambergæ, | Ex Officina Typographica Mi- | chaëlis Forsteri. | M. D. XCIX. |

The verso is blank, and Ccc 8 is wanting.

The second volume has the following title page:

Nova | Reperta, | Sive | Rerum Memorabilium, | Recens Inventarum, | et | Veteribus Plane | Incognitarum | Guidonis Pancirol' | li I C. | Liber Secundus. | Jam primùm ex Italico Latinè reddi | tus, & Commentariis illuſtratus | Ab | Henrico Salmuth. |
Ambergae. | Typis Forſteriania. | M.D.CII. |
Small 8vo. Signatures: (:) in eight,):(in two, A to Z, Aa to Zz, in eights, Aaa in four; ox, pp. [20], 719, [21, 2 blank].

The 20 preliminary pages contain the Title, Salmuth's preface to Christian, Prince of Anhalt, dated: Ambergæ, Kal. Martii, 1602, dedicatory and commendatory verses, and heads of chapters. The text occupies pp. 719. The unnumbered pages at the end contain the laws discussed in the volume, Index Verborum, and table of Errata. The last leaf is blank.

The earliest editions, therefore, seems to have been as follows:

Part I.			Part II.		
First edition,	Amberg,	1559.	First edition,	Amberg,	1602.
Second edition,	Amberg,	1607.	Second edition,	Amberg,	1608.
Third edition,	Amberg,	1612.	Third edition,	Amberg,	1612.
Fourth (?) edition,	Frankfurt,	1622.	(See Part II., p. 243.)		

The original Italian had been circulated in manuscript, and a copy had reached Salmuth, who had been a student under Panciroli at Padua, and who translated it into Latin. The translator, however, was a Lutheran; the book acquired a heretical strain, and it was ultimately condemned. Carlo Emanuele, Duke of Savoy, however, and the nephews of Panciroli, thinking this was a severe punishment of the innocent author, at last succeeded in

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getting Flavio Gaultieri to make an orthodox version in Italian, excluding the objectionable matter which Salmuth had introduced, and this was published at Venice by Barnardo Giunti in 1612, 4°, as described above. This Italian version, therefore, is not the original, and Salmuth's translation, apparently, is not an accurate rendering of the original, so that what passes under Panciroli's name is not his book at all, but only an approximation to it. In this respect it is possibly unique among all the works I have had to specify. See Zeno's note in *Biblioteca Dell' Eloquenza Italiana di Monsignore Giusto Fontanini*, Parma, 1803-04, 4°, Tomo II., p. 276, note (*a*). Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, Bonn, 1883-85, II., p. 161. *Index Librorum Prohibitorum et Expurgatorum*, Genevæ, 1619, 4°, p. 431, where a list of the condemned passages will be found.

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No. XXIV.

ANNUAL EXCURSION OF THE SOCIETY FOR 1893.

THE Annual Excursion of the Society took place on Thursday, 7th September, the day's programme including the Roman camps of Birrenswark and Birrens, Hoddom Castle and Church, and Repentance Tower, Dumfriesshire. Upwards of forty of the members were present, among whom were J. W. Shand-Harvey, of Castle Semple, Peter Sturrock, of Baltersan, late M.P. for the Kilmarnock Burghs, Colonel Stirling, of Gargunnock, J. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., hon. secretary, George Neilson, F.S.A. Scot., Campbell Douglas, F.R.I.B.A., J. B. Wingate, Drs. Henderson and Mather, John Mann, C.A., F. W. Allan, P. Macgregor Chalmers, F.S.A. Scot., E. S. M'Harg, Alexander Macdonald, F.S.A. Scot., J. M. M'Cosh, Walter Easton, James Provan, of Auchingillan, Robert Guy, Archibald Brownlie, of Monkcastle, William Turner, John Edwards, David Robertson, F.S.A. Scot., William Stevenson, Walter E. Wingate, &c. Leaving Glasgow at 9-40 the party, on arriving at Ecclefechan Station, drove to the foot of Birrenswark. The camp was described by Mr. Neilson. Birrenswark is a fine bold eminence, which, although only some 900 feet in height, yet by reason of its position as a kind of outpost from the ridge forming the eastern boundary of Annandale, completely dominates the great plain of the Solway, and commands a view of extraordinary extent and variety. It is visible far away north and south, the outlook from it comprising glimpses into about a dozen counties, English and Scots. Apart from its picturesque features, it is at a time like the present, when so many opinions on matters touching the Roman occupation of Britain are being retested in the crucible, specially interesting on account of the two extensive and clearly outlined camps which stand on what may be called, without absolute geographical nicety, its eastern and western slopes. The one measures 300 yards by 200, and the other 300 yards by 100. The larger, being that on the eastern slope, was first examined. The rampart is generally of the simple "aggested" type—that is, the ditch has been dug and the earth from it shovelled up into a single

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vallum on the inside. The camp sits well up the hill-face on a very steep slope, which left it thoroughly dominated by the height above, a situation no doubt chosen because the ground lower down appears to be swampy. The position was excellent as regards its southern, eastern, and northern sides, but was glaringly disadvantageous on the west. It is of extreme interest that after all those years, after the lapse of possibly eighteen centuries, the works, which happily are in the best of preservation, still present the evidence of how this disadvantage of position was met by the Roman engineers. It was a simple expedient, the record of which is to this day to be read in the grassy line of fosse and vallum. On the south-east and north there is a small ditch, and consequently a small rampart; on the west the ditch is at least twice as wide and twice as deep, and the rampart therefore immensely more prominent. Nor is this feature of increased size confined to the rampart and fosse. The works have three gateways on the west, and one gateway on each of the south, east, and north sides. Each of the three latter is protected by a straight traverse—a little mound with a little ditch before it a few feet in front of the gateway. But on the west side (strictly speaking west by north-west) the traverses are high *tumuli* or mounds, which have been by the older writers described as circular. In reality, however, their plan rather seems to have been square; at any rate the straight line of the faces on three sides is obvious enough in two out of the three examples, while the facts in the fourth are open to doubt. A noteworthy feature of the camp is at its northmost corner, where a fortified square is formed within the camp, having the rampart and fosse of the camp on two sides, and a special rampart and fosse of its own on the other two sides. On the opposite, or western side of the hill, there is the other camp occupying the descending slope. In almost all respects (save for the absence of any ditched *prætorium*) this camp is analogous to the other. It has a ditch with a single aggested rampart. Here, again, the same conditions produce the same modifications of design. In the other case the disadvantage of slope was on the west, and the western fosse consequently was the larger. Here the slopes are the other way exactly, and the facts are exactly converse. The ditch and rampart on the east side, where the hill slope on the east overhangs the camp, are very markedly larger than those on the west side, where the camp overhangs the outside ground. The opinion

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was expressed that the general indications are strongly favourable to the belief (1) that these camps are not at all likely to have been what some authors have contended—viz., summer quarters for troops whose winter camp, or fixed station, was at Birrens, three or four miles distant; (2) that they are more probably to be regarded as the entrenchments of an army on the march; and (3) that, being of the same type, they may be reckoned as contemporaneous, and as having both been occupied at the same time. There are British stations on the top of the hill, and the suggestion was thrown out that possibly the two camps are part of a siege scheme for a combined attack by two battalions on a native enemy posted on the height. It is more reasonable to believe, however, that no direct purpose such as that accounts for their presence, but that the commanding situation, available equally northward and southward for signalling purposes, rendered Birrenswark an eminently fitting resting point during an invasion. One would fain be convinced that after all it may have been Agricola who, attracted by its outline standing out dark blue against the sky as he advanced across the Solway, chose it for one of his posts. The archæologist is always eager to get at things with a spade, and the party was unanimous in the belief that good work might be done at Birrenswark (and still better on the more elaborate station at Birrens) by excavation. Even a single section through the so called *prætorium* would be of great interest and value, as it would certainly reveal (1) the original shape of the fosse, and (2) the character and foundations, if any, of the ramparts, whilst it might disclose in relics of its occupation substantial evidence of its date and history. It was found, to the great regret of all the members, that the attractions of Birrenswark had involved so considerable an expenditure of time that it would be impossible to visit Birrens, and that part of the programme was accordingly reluctantly omitted. Returning to Ecclefechan, lunch was served in the Commercial Hotel, and a visit was paid to the grave of Carlyle, and the house in which the author of "Sartor Resartus" first saw the light. From Birrenswark to Repentance Tower is a transition from the Roman to the mediæval period, from the first to the sixteenth century. *En route* thither a flying call was made at Hoddom Church, in the porch of which stands a tablet from Birrens, dedicated by the Nervian cohort of Germans to Jupiter. Before crossing Hoddom bridge, the old burying-ground of Hoddom, on the site of

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the ancient Church of Hoddom founded by St. Mungo, was seen sitting by the Annan water. When Hoddom Castle was reached, now the residence of Mr. Edward Brook, the party climbed the winding staircase and gained the summit of the tower, the lower part of which is old, whilst the bulk of the upper portion is of a much later date. The point of junction of the original and the restored parts, however, is not decisively apparent, and some differences of opinion prevailed. It is on record that the battlements were blown up during the "Raid of Hoddom" in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Whilst parts of the corbelling of the tower have an antique look about them, it seems probable that for the most part they are restorations or imitations of the original. Time admitted of only a brief inspection of the great moat guarding the castle, and of the early crosses in relief brought from the old Church of Hoddom. The architectural experts of the party were disposed to assign to the sixteenth century the characteristics of the older portion of the tower.

The final stage in the excursion was performed when, after partaking of the hospitality of Hoddom Castle, the party scaled Repentance height, and clambered to the summit of the watch tower. Attention was drawn to its far-reaching outlook, which had made it the master-link in the chain of beacons by which the Border was warned of English invasions. Communicating eastward with Quhitwollin, near Lockerbie, and thence up the Annan, and with Wardlawhill above Caerlaverock, and thence up the Nith, it was the chief position in the well-selected series of heights that the Lincluden conference of 1448 confirmed as the signal stances on which bale fires or beacons were to be lit. A paper on the history of the tower was read by Mr. George Neilson, F.S.A. Scot., and is printed elsewhere in the *Transactions*.

Coming back to Ecclefechan, the party proceeded by train to Moffat, and dined in the Annandale Arms Hotel. They returned to Glasgow in the evening. The day, though at first threatening, was fine throughout, and the excursion was most enjoyable, the local knowledge of Mr. Thomas Graham and Mr. Neilson having much contributed to this result.

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Glasgow Archæological Society

INSTITUTED 1856.

The object of the Society is the encouragement of the study of Archæology generally, and more particularly in Glasgow and the West of Scotland.

Meetings are held in the Society's Chambers, 207 Bath Street, at *Eight o'clock p.m.* on the *third Thursday* of the months of November, December, January, February, March, and April. The Annual Excursion takes place in August or September, and during the Session Monthly Saturday-afternoon Excursions are made to places of Archæological interest in the neighbourhood of Glasgow.

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No. XXV.

ADDRESS

ON VACATING THE PRESIDENCY OF THE SOCIETY:

BY

JOHN FERGUSON, LL.D., F.S.A. LOND. AND SCOT.,

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF CHEMISTRY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

[*Delivered at the Annual General Meeting of the Society, held on 15th November, 1894.*]

ONCE more, and for the last time as President, I have to offer you a most cordial welcome at the beginning of another session. I can only express the hope and the belief that, as the years come and pass, and as one office-bearer hands on the honours and duties to his successor, the Society will continue to flourish, and to command more and more influence in the line of research to which it is committed.

In my opening address I adverted to the vast domain of Archæology, and the necessity, not only of individual students, but even of societies, confining themselves to such topics of investigation as lie closest to their hands. For ourselves, it is not requisite to go from home for material to examine; the field of research in Scotland alone is far from being exhausted, the country teems with relics of a forgotten past: place names, legends, prehistoric remains, early literature, family history, ancient buildings, castles, houses, churches, monuments, personal relics, legal and other documents—there they are in great profusion for whoever will take the trouble to enquire about them.

It would be a work of much value, but of no small labour, to give a survey of all that has been done during the last two or three years to illustrate the antiquities of Scotland, by individuals and by the half-dozen and more Scottish antiquarian societies. There has been, I think, a broadening of the interest in the subject for some little time past. Besides works of great importance, such as the treatise on Domestic Architecture, the publications of the Historical Society, and of the Spalding Club, the Rhind lectures, editions of

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early travels, and the papers which have appeared in Societies' transactions, there have been smaller books, specially dealing with the topography, the scenery and antiquities of particular places or districts, which, if not profound or exhaustive, but merely popular and amusing, still serve the all-important purpose of keeping the popular mind in touch with the past, and infusing into it the desire to preserve what still remains. A danger to which all remains of antiquity are exposed, is the ignorance of those who live beside them. The stones of Hadrian's Wall are converted into cow-houses; the rampart which marked the most northerly point of the Roman Empire is cut into to make the foundation for "a but and a ben;" in literal truth, the dust of imperious Cæsar is used to stop a hole to keep the wind away, and when the object of antiquity has been fairly wiped out, its disappearance is called improvement and progress, and is ascribed to the irresistible march of civilisation, when it is merely the result of ignorance or the childish or spiteful love of destruction. It is well that knowledge of the antiquities about us should be as wide-spread as possible. It is only by the weight of universal public interest in the preservation of objects of antiquity that these can be protected from the selfishness of individuals and the iconoclasm of certain classes, public companies and others. When once it is understood thoroughly that a monument of the past of any description, though it may as property, be justly claimed by an individual, yet historically and archæologically belongs to the country at large, there is a greater chance of its being preserved. It may be that certain changes in Glasgow have been improvements; I am certain that others have not been, in all cases, absolutely necessary; anyhow, they have made the city so much the poorer. It will be well for this Society, which presumably has the interest of historic Glasgow specially at heart, to watch carefully alterations which may be suggested hereafter. There is hardly anything of an earlier Glasgow left; what little there is should now be jealously guarded.

I have no intention of presenting you with a review of recent progress in archæological discovery even in Scotland, still less in archæology as a whole. I must leave that and similar themes to those who have greater aptitude and more opportunities for treating them than I have. But, considering that it happens to have occurred during my tenure of office, I shall crave your

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permission to make a few remarks upon what has been the most important local archæological event of the past year, namely the exhibition of relics of Old Glasgow recently closed. In every respect that exhibition was most valuable. In the first place, it brought to light the abundance of objects of all sorts which have outlasted their actual use and are kept in existence, rather as mementos of their owners, or as relics of different manners and conditions of life, or for the worth of their material, or for their own beauty, or curiosity, or rarity, than for any practical purpose they can serve now. One is glad to think that so much has survived, when the temptation is so great to discard old things to make way for new. One should take a lesson from Aladdin not to make the exchange without due consideration; old lamps may be preferable to new. In the second place, it revealed the strength as well as the weakness of Glasgow antiquities. The exhibits were, with very few exceptions, not earlier than 1600, and most of them were little more than a century old. Whatever, therefore, may have been the age of the foundation of Glasgow, it is certain that hardly anything survives of its early history. There were no pre-historic remains and hardly any Roman remains—if, indeed, the Romans ever were here—but even of times long subsequent to these there was nothing to show. What a waste and destruction there must have been of such relics, even though Glasgow never was the centre of revolutions and of social and race cataclysms! We can only explain their absence by believing that it was a very small place, and that the traces left by the former inhabitants were soon obliterated. Now that one has seen what can be brought together, one knows that there is little likelihood of making a collection similar to what one finds in districts or towns, where race has succeeded race, and one civilisation has superseded another. In the third place, one may try to hope, but, I fear, can hardly believe, that it has sufficiently impressed the inhabitants of this city as to make them take a greater interest in the past history of it, and of the people who lived in it and helped to build it up. But if it may have induced them to preserve anything, however trifling, which throws light on the manners and history of the past, the exhibition will not have been in vain.

A great danger to objects of antiquity arises from their isolation—and, by antiquity, I mean that of yesterday or of this morning, quite as much as of

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three or four thousand years ago. Antiquity is not measured by years or centuries, so much as by desuetude and novelty, and things just going out of use are more likely to be destroyed than things of remoter periods. The age of steam-navigation, for instance, is to be counted as yet only by years and decades, but there are events in that branch of art and science which, so far as antiquity is concerned, might have been coæval with the canoes which were exhibited in "Old Glasgow." We *could* make canoes out of trees and ferry across the Clyde in them if we required, and engineers *could* build a steamer on the model of the Comet, but who would ever think of doing either one or other as a question of practice? The Comet is as extinct as the canoe, and we can apply the term Archæology to steam-navigation as correctly as to the ships of the Vikings. An object is not antique because it is old, and an object is not modern because it is recent. The archæologist looks for more than mere age in the object under his notice, more than the lapse of centuries; he wants to find the human element in it, the human thought that designed it, the human energy and skill that wrought it out. Antiquity, in fact, is only an older or historical ethnography; the study of both of them is the necessary complement to the understanding of our own stage of civilisation, which is a part of the whole both in time and in place. The Stone Age in this country is long past, but it still exists in some islands of the South Seas. For us, therefore, a stone axe may be either of antiquarian or of ethnographic interest. A possible change in the habits or surroundings of these islanders might convert the stone tools of to-day into objects of no worth in their eyes to-morrow. Let them have the use of iron implements and those of stone would soon disappear. One can hardly suppose that such people would dream of preserving these implements; in fact, they would throw them aside and leave them to perish. They are not yet civilised enough to have the archæological taste for the preservation of objects out of use, and the skill to enable them to realise that the things of to-day are the antiquities of to-morrow. The older nations, however, have some appreciation of the value of things out of date. The most civilised peoples are always keenest in the improvement of their weapons of attack and defence; the old are discarded at once in favour of the newest, if these are better. The old, however, are not

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entirely destroyed; they are kept in armouries as illustrations of what have been the best under past conditions; they are practical lessons in the history of invention. The Solomon islanders are not wise enough yet to see this.

The isolation, to which I have alluded, is a real and imminent danger to the existence of objects of antiquity. In very many, if not in most, cases, it is only by comparison of different objects that their meaning and value can be ascertained. Certainly only in that way can conclusions as to date, use, origin, and so on, be safely arrived at. But if objects are separated from one another, the connection is lost; the mutual illustration cannot be obtained even by a person of skill. It may happen, too, that the possessor may not know the intrinsic value of the object in his hands, and still less the comparison-value. Moreover, it is difficult to preserve a few odd relics of a generation older than our own, and such things are neglected and ultimately disappear, it is difficult to say how; often simply by neglect.

One of the lessons of the recent Exhibition, as of all such exhibitions, is the importance of collocation. Only by that method can light be thrown on many obscurities. In no department of the Exhibition was this element lacking. It was pre-eminently seen in the various views and plans of the city. It was conspicuous even in the portraits which were executed by the same artist. One knows that it was once the fashion to despise archæological study, and light contempt still dwells in a few uncultured minds, and the sneer still forms on a few uncivilised visages, at the interest in things out of date and out of use which all rational people entertain. But these condemn themselves; they themselves make a distinction between the earlier and later works of an artist, for example; they recognise the difference between the first attempts and those when the master has reached the maturity of his powers. They can tell when decadence sets in and the work is no longer so powerful or so good. Even, therefore, in the life-time of a living worker in whatever field—art, science, literature, technology—there is an archæology. For the worker himself his past execution is as much beyond his capacity to repeat, as if it had belonged to another. He may have outgrown it, or he may have fallen behind it, but the later work will be different from the earlier —simply by time and its influences. The individual, not otherwise than the race as a whole, lives by and through the past.

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In my former address I indicated the importance of an Archæological Museum for Glasgow, a place where isolated objects that run the chance of destruction, as well as collections, could be preserved for future generations of citizens to see and study. The recent Exhibition has come most unexpectedly to back up by a practical illustration what I then said. It has shown that there is no lack of material as a nucleus for such a collection. I believe that many persons, who have objects of curiosity and value, would be pleased to have them safely housed and preserved in a regular "Old Glasgow" Museum. That it would be of permanent interest to the citizens I have little doubt; of much greater interest than a Museum of Natural History. It would have the advantage of further illustrating what they already know. The portraits of men and women, known only by name, make the history of Glasgow live again; the pictures and views recal familiar scenes now past to those who have beheld them, and enlighten those of a younger generation as to the appearance of the city and its surroundings before inevitable change came over them. There was no more interesting section of the Exhibition than the collection of views. In considering these, one could understand how visitors to the city, a few generations back, always expressed such admiration at its appearance; my belief is that the admiration would be renewed if those who are responsible for the well-being of the city and its inhabitants would exert themselves to give the citizens a purer atmosphere. If I may judge by what I have seen, a Glasgow museum would have most important educational effects. The museum of Old Paris is to the Parisian evidently of the greatest possible interest. When I visited it again, about a couple of months ago, it was as before crowded with visitors. There are, of course, relics and records there, that could never be paralleled here under any circumstances, for Paris is a place of very great antiquity, the capital of a great country, and is full of history and historical remains of all kinds from the earliest dawn down to the last revolution. One can understand the intense curiosity felt in such a collection by those who are now denizens of the place, where the events connected with them have occurred; events, too, of which in these last days many must have been eye-witnesses. It stirs the imagination undoubtedly, and keeps alive an enthusiasm for the place, and a pride in its citizenship which is of the utmost importance as a factor in social and municipal life. It is proverbial

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how devoted the Parisian is to Paris—the proverb, as far as Glasgow is concerned, is, I fear, just the reverse.

I hope that it may be within the power of some one who occupies this chair to do something to bring to a practical issue the design for a permanent "Old Glasgow" Exhibition.

While there is much satisfaction in the retrospect of this Exhibition, and in thinking of the stimulus it may have given to a fuller account than anything we have of literary and artistic Glasgow, there is at the same time not wanting a shadow over its close and over our Society. One of those who had most skill in the material for such an exhibition, who gave his knowledge and time and labour ungrudgingly to it, and who did as much as he could to make the Exhibition as successful as it proved to be, has been taken away from among us.

Mr. John Guthrie Smith, of Glasgow connection and of Glasgow life, was also of the select band who are most deeply interested not only in its present welfare and prosperity, but equally so in its past history, and in the people who have given it character. Of Mr. Smith, as a public man and as a man of business, it would be out of place here to speak; we are concerned with him as an antiquary, and especially as a Glasgow antiquary. Though his special knowledge was of Glasgow people—their genealogies and biographies—and his knowledge was turned to account on more than one occasion, his archæological tastes were catholic, and he had a feeling for antiquity in whatever guise it presented itself. To see the work, however, which he was capable of executing, one must turn to his book on Strathblane. The minute detail, involving long research and the most careful scrutiny of facts and dates, the correction of others' errors, and the verification of authorities, shows that he carried strict business methods into his literary work, and that he was as scrupulous about the accurate deciphering of an inscription as he would have been in drawing up a balance-sheet.

It would not be just, however, to imply that it was a mere piece of painful collecting. It is much more—it is a readable and attractive story, full of human interest; for though its immediate concerns are centred in a small area these stretch out numberless threads, which entangle it with and bind it to the

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history of the country at large. Properly restricting it to being a history of Strathblane, its author was too skilful to close his eyes to its wider aspects, and thus to give it a greater value as a chapter of the past history of Scotland. A book such as this, is emphatically a labour of love. The pains he took with it, the time he spent over it, could not have been done to order for any publisher, and could never have been recompensed by any payment—the doing of the work was its own reward. The book was elaborated as we see it, because it was in the man's nature to be thorough and conscientious; nothing would be left unfinished so long as he could make it perfect, and his book on Strathblane will remain a standard one on that district, when the objects described have perhaps vanished away, when the families concerned have become extinct; when changes have come about which, in these days of railways and whatever other mode of locomotion may hereafter supersede railways, no one can foresee. Mr. Smith's book will be hereafter one of the most important treasure-houses to the antiquary of future years, who will prize the multitudinous facts and details which the author has so carefully and with such prescience preserved.

It is known that at his death Mr. Smith had made much progress with another work on the neighbouring district of Strathendrick. It is some consolation to think that much of it, having been completed, is in fit state for printing, and that the author's labours will not be lost. Nevertheless the work, however complete, that comes to us from the hands of another than its author, is hardly a living book—it wants the final impress of the thoughts that called it into being. One is not quite sure that what has been printed is just in the last form which the author himself would have given it. We must, however, be grateful that so much survives, but we may also truly regret that the possibility of much more has been carried away with such startling suddenness into the impenetrable darkness.

Mr. Smith is not the only blank in our membership that has to be mourned. One of our past presidents has also been removed from us, and in him, not only have we lost a member who showed the warmest interest in the Society, but the loss is far wider, for the Border country may lament that its son who in these years knew it and loved it best, has been "wede away." Professor Veitch was imbued with the greatest enthusiasm for Scottish history, for

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Scottish legendary lore, for Scottish poetry. His antiquarian tastes were not those of the mere critical student of the remaining records of an early age, not those of the archæologist, for whom a church or a castle presents questions of style and date and architectural anomalies which may interest him technically, but such monuments attracted him for the bygone life of which they were the mouldering remains. He saw the romance and the poetry of the Border; he was under the spell of it much in the same way as Scott, and Hogg, and Wilson, and Leyden, and even Wordsworth fell under it. The turmoil of the past, the fighting days of the border tribes, the later times of the persecutions, the terrible tragedies enacted in the gentlest of natural scenes, the pathos of the partings told in story and in verse, were more to him than even the mere accuracy of the histories themselves. It would not be correct to say that he was an archæologist because he was a poet, but, no doubt, his archæology was so steeped in humanity as it was by his poetical feeling and deep sympathy. If he could investigate critically a historical and philological question, he could also throw the mantle of imagination over the bare outlines of antiquity. It seems natural and fitting, therefore, that while his own poems turn mostly on the legends and remains of the Border, his critical and descriptive works are devoted to the history and poetry of the Border and its connection with the natural scenery and bygone life of that part of the country.

But, whatever view we take of such a question, there is no doubt that our meetings will be poorer by the absence of Professor Veitch. Whether one agreed with his speculations and deductions or not, mattered but little; there was an enthusiasm in all he said; there was an infectious glow of love for Scotland, and its scenery, and its poetry and history, which made up for all else; and there was the touch of pathetic regret at the changes which time had wrought over all—the lonely border tower, the hill fort, the grassy mound, where rest the last remains of great and forgotten heroes and warriors—which showed the kindly heart that was beating under the somewhat massive exterior. When at his best, no man was fuller of anecdote both of personal experience and from reading. No one was better skilled in the history of South Scotland, and had more thoroughly caught its spirit—and now all that rich store is lost to us for ever. I think we may be proud that we were

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able to enrol among our Presidents a man like Professor Veitch, and I hope that the Society will always be able to command such service as he rendered it so unstintedly.

And now the time is come that I should restore to you the trust which you did me the honour to repose in me. As far as has lain in my power I have tried to discharge the duty required, I hope, with no regret on your part, that I have had it to do. If I am conscious of failures, I am also aware of much forbearance and goodwill, for which I thank you most gratefully.

For myself, I shall look back with the greatest pleasure and pride to having been thought worthy of your confidence, and to having occupied this chair; alas! that my having done so should now have become a piece of my own personal archæology. Whatever I may have wished to do, or ought to have done, is no longer in my power; to use the last words spoken by Roger Bacon's famous brazen head: "Time is past." I have, however, one more duty to discharge, the last that falls to me as your President: it is to propose my successor. Apart from being senior Vice-President, there is no one upon whom the office could be more fitly bestowed than upon one who has worked actively and well for the Society in all sorts of ways, and who has, besides, the qualification of being out and out a Glasgow man—by descent, birth, residence, sentiment, and of being deeply interested in the city itself, its people, history, and antiquities.

I am sure you will all respond heartily to the recommendation of the Council, that the next President be Mr. Colin Dunlop Donald. And so having discharged all my duties, I resign the chair to him, and bid you all a regretful farewell.

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No. XXVI.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS

(SESSION 1894-95).

BY

COLIN DUNLOP DONALD, F.S.A. SCOT.,

PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

[*Delivered at the Annual General Meeting held on 15th November, 1894*]

IN this age of analysis and questioning it behoves every one to be able to give a reason for the faith that is in him. Our faith as archæologists is very apt to be attacked by persons who are interested in nothing but what may be termed Commercial Zoology—the study of Bulls and Bears and Pigs, and such like. Now, have we a good and sufficient answer to such an attack? I venture to think that we have. Man does not live by bread alone. In all of us there is a spark of the diviner fire which the ordinary pursuits of business life do not satisfy. In all of us there is an imagination craving for work. It is a terribly true story that of Michael Scott and the fiend. You remember it? How Michael Scott had a familiar which would do his bidding so long as he found it in work, but the moment he failed to do so would tear him in pieces. Mr. Hill Burton says that every man of Anglo-Saxon race pays for his power and energy by having some such demon within him, which must be kept quiet by incessant work and interest. Where can you get a finer exercising ground for this demon than the wide field of archæology? Whatever a man is interested in, war or peace, castles or churches, manners or customs, faith or rituals, all are there waiting to be examined, and the more one knows the more one wants to know, until, at last, you come to the wholesome conclusion of how little you really know at all. One of the great glories and uses of archæology is, that it gives full play to the imagination,

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and so greatly increases our harmless pleasures. Do not misunderstand me when I use the word "imagination." I do not mean that uncontrolled by, and careless of facts, we should let our fancy run riot in the absurdities that of old brought ridicule on antiquarianism, that changed the Kaim of Kinprunes into the *Castra pruinis*, and invented the bloody rites of imaginary Druids. I mean that constructive imagination which, on a solid basis of fact, sees analogies and, with keen intuition, bridges over the chasm between two isolated facts; or looking at a host of separate instances detects, amidst a strange diversity, the similarity that binds them together. What a grand field for the imagination, is afforded to him, who climbs the steep ditch and stands on the wall cut out of the living rock that sweeps round old Sarum, or who lingers through a long summer afternoon under mysterious Stonehenge. Where can imagination have wider play than in visiting such places as Tantallon, the mighty stronghold of our grimmest nobles, or Bolton, for so long the prison of Queen Mary? Craigmillar, Leven, Fotheringay, Kenilworth —are they not all names to conjure with? Sir Walter Scott, who has done so much to quicken our feelings in these matters, felt this strongly. You remember his lines on Neidpath, how he saw in his mind's eye the—

> "Foragers who, with headlong force,
> Down from that strength had spurr'd their horse,
> Their Southern rapine to renew
> Far in the distant Cheviots blue,
> And home returning filled the hall,
> With revel, wassail, rout, and brawl.
> Methought that still with tramp and clang
> The gateway's broken arches rang;
> Methought grim features, seamed with scars,
> Glared through the windows rusty bars."

Men never made a greater mistake than when they called archæology dry. Properly studied, it is fuller of romantic interest than even astronomy. For in its ultimate essence it concerns itself with man in the far-off ages and dark abysm of time. Take for instance, that subject, the Scottish Roman Wall, to which we have been giving so much attention. It gives rise to hosts of interesting questions and speculations. No one can study that wall, without being urged on to study also the Roman system of making war and of fortification; the

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state of Scotland when it was built, and the exact object in building it, and the method of garrisoning and defending it. From this wall, we are led perforce to study the greater wall in England, which is so full of interesting problems and the relics from which have thrown so much light on the nature of the Roman occupation, Roman life and Roman provincial art. The mere sight of that massy wall of hewn stone, pursuing its course straight on over hill and dale, gives one a clearer idea of Roman power, and Roman thoroughness than can ever be got from books, however vivid and however numerous.

To come nearer home, to whom is the border country more of an enchanted land than to the archæologist. For him every hill-fort, every standing stone, every ruined peel and abbey has its story. Suppose he walks up the valley of the Yarrow, his mind is filled with thoughts of

> Great old houses
> And fights fought long ago.

He can examine Newark, and see how a border chief was lodged and how he fortified himself. He passes the Dowie Dens of Yarrow and remembers how

> "Late at e'en drinking the wine,
> And ere they paid the lawing,
> They set a combat them between
> To fight it in the dawing."

And he sees the great grey standing stone memento of a fight still older. Higher up in a green side valley, he can trace the crumbling fragments of the Blackhouse Tower and call to mind the intolerable pathos of the Douglas tragedy.

A knowledge of the past, an interest in the past, these the archæologist carries with him wherever he goes. With them no journey can be dull or profitless, for everywhere are to be found traces and remains of the past ages. Traces and remains that show to us the manner of men they were who lived and loved, and fought and died, in the far off years; and it is this human interest that gives life and glow to archæology. Mr. Ruskin has well said—
"For, indeed, the greatest glory of a building is not in its stones, nor in its
"gold, Its glory is in its age, and in that deep sense of voice fulness, of stern
"watching, of mysterious sympathy, nay, even of approval or condemnation,
"which we feel in walls that have long been washed by the passing waves of

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"humanity. It is in their lasting witness against men, in their quiet contrast "with the transitional character of all things, in the strength which, through "the lapse of seasons and times, and the decline and birth of dynasties, and "the changing of the face of the earth, and of the limits of the sea, maintains "its sculptured shapeliness for a time insuperable, connects forgotten and "following ages with each other, and half constitutes the identity, as it "concentrates the sympathy of nations; it is in that golden stain of time "that we are to look for the real light and colour and preciousness of archi-"tecture; and it is not until a building has assumed this character, till it has "been entrusted with the fame, and hallowed by the deeds of men, till its "walls have been witnesses of suffering, and its pillars rise out of the shadows "of death, that its existence, more lasting as it is than that of the natural "objects of the world around it, can be gifted with ever so much as these "possess of language and of life." In another passage, on the effect produced on him by a scene in the Jura—"The writer well remembers the sudden "blankness and chill, which were cast upon it, when he endeavoured, in "order more strictly to arrive at the sources of its impressiveness, to imagine "it for a moment, a scene in some aboriginal forest of the New Continent. "The flowers in an instant lost their light, the river its music, the hills "became oppressively desolate, a heaviness in the boughs of the darkened "forest, showed how much of their former power had been dependent upon "a life which was not theirs, how much the glory of the imperishable or "continually renewed creation is reflected from things more precious in their "memories than its renewing. Those ever-springing flowers and ever-flowing "streams have been dyed by the deep colours of human endurance, valour, "and virtue; and the crests of the sable hills, that rose against the evening "sky, received a deeper worship, because their far shadows fell eastward over "the iron wall of Joux, and the four-square keep of Granson."

But archæology has another claim to be valued in this age of fierce strife and competition.

If a man be engaged in business, there is nothing healthier for him, than to have an interest in things outside of his business; and if a man have the blessed gift of leisure, it soon turns into a curse, if he do not know how to occupy that leisure. I do not know which is most to be pitied, the man of

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business, whose only intellectual recreation is the *Evening Citizen*, or the idle man, whose only amusement is gossip. I have known a man, whose whole life had been given up to affairs and nothing else, whose death, I believe, was hastened by boredom, when failing health forced him to retire from active business. I have known an idle man, who was reduced to such a depth of boredom, by having no special interest in life, that he confessed to a friend, that he often wondered in the morning, whether it was worth while getting up, to go through another empty day. In other words, every man should have a hobby, and if he have a stable of them, so much the better. Had either of the men I have referred to, been archæologists, they would not have found life empty. Even if they had not attempted to solve such puzzles, as the nationality of the Picts, the business and purpose of Stonehenge, or the derivation of the word "Glasgow," there are endless subjects and lines of research in archæology which would have occupied and amused them. If one is tired with work of one kind, and in the stress of modern work, most men are tired, nothing is more refreshing than work of a totally different kind. Mr. Hill Burton's defence of book-hunting is admirable if too apologetic:—

"Holding it to be the inevitable doom of fallen man to inherit some frailty "or failing, it would be difficult had he a Pandora's box full to pick and "choose among, to find one less dangerous or offensive. As the judicious "physician informs the patient suffering under some cutaneous or other "external torture, that the poison lay deep in his constitution—that it must "have worked in some shape—and well it is that it has taken one so "innocuous—so may even the book-hunter be congratulated, on having "taken the innate moral malady of all the race, in a very gentle and rather a "salubrious form. To pass over gambling, tippling, and other practices "which cannot be easily spoken of in good society, let us look to the other "shapes in which man lets himself out—for instance, horse-racing, hunting, "photography, shooting, fishing, cigars, dog-fancying, dog-fighting, the ring, "the cock-pit, phrenology, revivalism, socialism, which of these contains so "small a balance of evil; counting, of course, that the amount of pleasure "conferred is equal, for it is only on the datum that the book-hunter has as "much satisfaction from the pursuit as the fox-hunter, the photographer, and "so on has in his—that a fair comparison can be struck."

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If for book-hunter you read archæologist, Mr. Hill Burton's apologia is doubly true. A landscape painter's lot is, perhaps, more enjoyable than an archæologist's, but with this one exception I know of no pursuit that yields to it in pleasure. In the pursuit of his hobby the archæologist wanders into the fairest regions of the country and penetrates into the most picturesque parts of the town. In this pursuit he gets open air, scenery, health, and exercise all thrown in, as it were, by the way. Besides what makes this pursuit such an admirable hobby is, that perforce it takes its votary absolutely out of the world of to-day, and places him in another world entirely different. It is owing to this, that it is so refreshing. It is as good—nay, it is far better, than a rest to a man who has all day been striving with grey cloth or contangoes, metacentres or reddendoes, to come in the evening to the quiet study of, say Scottish castles, the different varieties of flint battle-axes, old manners and customs, or the peculiarities of Glasgow Cathedral. My advice to every man, busy or idle, is to have a hobby and for choice to take archæology.

The study of archæology is, besides, excellent training for a man's observation, for his power of recognising a fact and its consequences, and for his judgment.

What we need above all in the study of archæology is judgment and system, minute observation, the careful recording of every fact observed, and, as far as possible, its classification in its proper place. Knowledge is like a tesselated pavement, made up of many small bits, and the fact we record, though perhaps not in itself of much value, may explain and complete what hitherto was unintelligible. Take as an example those black lines, in the sections of the Roman Wall, laid bare in our recent excavations. At first they gave no information; when, however, it was observed that they occurred in every section, at a more or less uniform distance from each other, they gave the clue to the secret, that the rampart had been made, not of earth roughly heaped together, but of sods pared off the surface of the land, and placed together, probably face to face. What we need is more system in our work. The Ordnance Survey shows many hill forts in the west of Scotland, but I am not aware of any systematic attempt having been made to measure, describe, and classify them. With a little energy this work—and delightful work it is, taking us to the fresh hill-sides—might easily be done, either by the Society, or

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some of its members. It is true that many of these forts are in comparatively remote localities, but many are easy of access. An excellent instance is the strong fort above Glorat, close to Lennoxtown, with its bold scarp to the south, and its rings of rampart on its northern and more accessible side—and it is only one out of many. This fort is interesting from another cause. It is on the line of that curious earthen wall which runs for many miles along the southern slope of the Campsie Fells. Some of the members present will remember how we traced it one summer day, from Craigbarnet to the Spout of Ballagan, and I have traced it from there to the Dhucraig, where, as there was only a sheer precipice to defend, it very wisely stopped. On another occasion, the late John Guthrie Smith—keenest and sanest of antiquarians—and I traced it for some distance under the Dhucraig, but, as eventually we found several walls of the same character as that we were sedulously following, we grew doubtful if the object of our examination was the true Caledonian Wall, as we had christened it, or only a somewhat large sheep dyke. Now, if this wall is really a wall for defensive purposes, as some believe, it is a very interesting piece of antiquity. If it is only a boundary fence, the sooner this is recognised the better. I think, therefore, that it would form a subject of great interest if some one took up this so-called Caledonian Wall, and settled once and for all whether it was a prehistoric rampart, a murus, or a modern fence. My suggestion really amounts to this, that a catalogue be made of the various objects of antiquarian interest within a certain radius of Glasgow—ten, fifteen, twenty miles, it does not matter. The catalogue would be classified. The headings might, for the earlier remains, be Roman and Celtic, and a fine comprehensive class prehistoric. Then, as you came nearer to our own time, you might divide the objects into military, ecclesiastical, domestic. As a companion to the catalogue there would be a map. We have the Ordnance Map ready to our hands—the site of each object described would be noted on this map by a number, which same number would be put against the description of the object in the catalogue. Such an undertaking is pre-eminently the work of a society such as ours. It is too large and too varied for any single observer. We have members interested in one or other of the classes of antiquities I have spoken of. Many hands make light work, and, if combined effort were made, the

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catalogue would soon be under weigh. The practical way of carrying out such a scheme seems to me to be to appoint a small general committee, with full power to appoint other committees or reporters, in fact, to do all that would be needful to carry out the scheme as they saw fit.

To come nearer home there is a matter which is a blot on the history of this Society, and that is that there is no antiquarian museum in Glasgow. This lamentable lack is not altogether our fault. For years efforts have been made by the Society to get some place necessarily in a public building where objects of antiquarian interest, including relics of Old Glasgow, could be seen and studied, but hitherto these efforts have been fruitless. The Glasgow Exhibition, that has just closed, showed that there are plenty of relics of Old Glasgow in existence, but they are scattered. Think what a help it would be if there was a place where all the existing maps of Glasgow could be seen and compared—and where there was a good collection of views of Old Glasgow. But I would not confine such a museum to Glasgow objects. Naturally, it would contain more relics of Glasgow than from elsewhere, but it should, I think, aim also at being a collection of Scottish antiquities from the earliest date arranged in sequence, so as to enable inquirers to learn, by comparison, to mark the evolution of the objects they were studying. At present, if any one wishes to study any particular period, he has to go the museum at Edinburgh before he can even begin his subject. This should not be. It is the bounden duty of this Society to see that such a state of matters exist no longer. There are three points essential to the success of such a museum. It must be in a public building and vested in the public authorities; it must be easily accessible; and its existence must be widely known. Now, the new halls being built on the site of the Exhibition fulfil the first requisite, and fairly well fulfil the second. For the third, we must trust to the energy of this Society. I would, therefore, make the suggestion that your Council should do what is necessary to secure accommodation for such a museum in the new halls, and do what they can to have it furnished with objects of antiquarian interest.

I think I have made out a good case for archæology, but it has a higher claim to our respect and study than any I have yet advanced. What we at the end of the nineteenth century are, we owe to the work of generations on

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generations of men who have preceded us. We cannot really understand ourselves how we live what we do and what we think, unless we know something of what has gone before. The real usefulness of archæology, apart from its subjective use to the archæologist, is to interpret the present from the past. We must grasp and hold fast the idea of evolution if we are to do any good or fruitful work in archæology. The antiquarian of the old school collected a heterogeneous group of articles together and valued them, simply because they were old. Now, the mere fact of an article, say a table, a watch, or a sword, being old, gives it no more interest than the mere fact of its being new. What does give it interest is, that the way in which it is fashioned, and the manner in which it was used, throw light on the ways of life of the men who used it, and in it we see the germs of similar articles of a later growth. If this be true of a chair or a sword, it is true of a building and truer still of a custom, a trait of manners, or a phase of belief. In studying them, we see ourselves in the making, and unite ourselves to the far-off ages by the magic cord of sympathy.

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No. XXVII.

NOTES ON SHELLS FROM THE SHRINE OF SANTA LUCIA, NEAR FIGUERAS IN SPAIN,

BY

J. M. MACKINLAY, M.A., F.S.A. Scot.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society, held on 21st February, 1895.*]

SOME shells connected with the cultus of St. Lucy in Spain came recently into my possession, and it has occurred to me that a few remarks bearing on them, with special reference to the legend of the Saint herself, might be interesting. Scottish antiquities form the usual subject of study in this Society, and it may seem a far cry from North Britain to the Spanish Peninsula; but in reality it is not so. In virtue of the place, held by these shells in folk-lore, they belong to the same class of objects as Barbreck's Bone and the Lee Penny, so familiar to the student of Scottish amulets.[1] They all have this in common that at one time or another they have been credited with the power of healing. The shells in question are believed to be efficacious in curing sore eyes. Multitudes in Spain have still a firm faith in them. The shells are sold to pilgrims frequenting the shrine of Santa Lucia, near Figueras. Figueras, it may be remembered, is a town of Catalonia, in the north-east of Spain, its name being derived from the Spanish *figuera*, a fig-tree. It is some 80 miles north-east of Barcelona, and lies below the strong fortress of San Fernando in a rich plain noted for its olives and rice. The town has manufactures of leather and paper, and there are gold and copper mines in its vicinity. It has a population of about 11,000.[2] One can picture

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[1] Vide an article on *Scottish Charms and Amulets* by G. F. Black, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. xxvii. pp. 433-526.

[2] Vide *Chambers's Encyclopaedia, sub voce* Figueras; also *Encyclopaedia Britannica.*

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to one's self the peasant with a load of country produce for Figueras, bending his steps to St Lucy's shrine in search of cure, or some afflicted burgher with hardly a thought for the apothecary going to the same spot on a similar errand. Mr. Black in his *Folk-Medicine* has a chapter on the connection of our Lord and the Saints with folk-cures, where he shows among other examples how St. Blase was invoked in cases of sore throat, and St. Apollonia for the cure of toothache.[1] In like manner St. Lucy was believed to exercise her power in healing sore eyes.

To find the reason for this we have to glance at her legend. According to it St. Lucy was a Sicilian maiden, living at Syracuse, about the year 300 in the time of Diocletian. She was brought up from her cradle in the Christian faith, and, according to a practice then and afterwards regarded with favour, she resolved to devote herself to a life of virginity. She had a lover who was a pagan, and the young man besought her to reconsider her decision, but in vain. A miracle of healing, wrought on her mother at the shrine of St. Agatha, at Catania, confirmed the Saint in her resolve. With regard to the outstanding incident in her legend, Chambers remarks, "that on her lover "complaining to her that her beautiful eyes haunted him day and night, she "cut them out of her head and sent them to him, begging him now to leave "her to pursue unmolested her devotional aspirations. It is added that "Heaven, to recompense this act of abnegation, restored her eyes, rendering "them more beautiful than ever."[2] Alban Butler in his *Lives of the Saints*,[3] mentions that in her Acts quoted by St. Aldhelm in the seventh century—the Acts themselves being of an earlier date—this incident is not mentioned. It seems to have been added later, but, when once added, it was not left in the background. It was too picturesque to be soon forgotten. Mrs. Jameson[4] is probably correct when she says, "The device of some of the early painters "to express her name Lucia, *light*, by the emblem of an eye or eyes placed

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[1] *Folk-Medicine*, pp. 92-93.

[2] *Book of Days*, vol. ii. p. 687. A similar story is told of St. Medana in Galloway. Vide *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. xx. p. 88.

[3] Vol. vii. p. 930.

[4] *Sacred and Legendary Art*, vol. ii. p. 615. New edition, 1890.

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"near her, seems to have given rise to the invention of this additional inci-
"dent in her story, a signal instance of the conversion of the image or meta-
"phor into a fact." In mediaeval art her eyes are introduced sometimes rather grotesquely, *e.g.* when fixed upon a skewer-like awl, or placed in a cup or on a plate. In some representations the eyes are absent; and in harmony with her name she is portrayed as the light-bearer with a flaming lamp in her hand.[1] The remaining incidents in her legend—from her refusal to sacrifice to the pagan deities to her martyrdom by a poniard wound—do not here concern us. The miraculous element enters largely into the narrative. It is still believed to show itself in the cures wrought at her shrine, near Figueras.

Let us now ask why the shells possess a healing power. A saint's shrine is supposed to be the embodiment of the saint's influence. Hence objects coming from a shrine are the bearers of whatever good influence is inherent in the shrine. St. Lucy had to do with eyes in a special way. Her shells, therefore, can cure eye diseases. Such a mode of arguing is common enough in connection with folk-cures. Instances of this sort of reasoning might be cited from Scottish hagiology. Thus St. Fillan's Bell, used in the ritual connected with his Holy Pool in Strathfillan,[2] and the stone, known as the chariot of St. Conval, that once lay beside the river Cart, near Renfrew,[3] were believed to have the power of healing through their connection with St. Fillan and St. Conval respectively. Water, too, from holy wells was credited with healing power for a similar reason. It is worth noting that certain sacred springs were specially resorted to for the cure of sore eyes. Such were St. Wallach's Well, in Glass parish, close to the Deveron,[4] and St. John's Well, at Balmanno, in Marykirk Parish, Kincardineshire.[5] The writer of the article

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[1] For an account of her pictures see Mrs. Jameson's book already referred to; and for a list of her symbols, Husenbeth's *Emblems of Saints* (3rd edition), 1882, p. 133.

[2] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, vol. viii. p. 267.

[3] Forbes's *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 315.

[4] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. x. p. 607.

[5] Chambers's *Book of Days*, vol. i. p. 6.

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on Comrie, in the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*,[1] remarks in reference to the influence of St. Fillan, that "at the foot of the hill (Dunfillan), there is a "basin made by the saint on the top of a large stone, which seldom wants "water, even in the greatest drought; and all who are distressed with sore "eyes must wash them three times with this water." Near the farmhouse of Wester Auchleskine, at Balquhidder, in Perthshire, once stood a boulder with a hollow in it. The water that gathered in the hollow was deemed so efficacious for the cure of sore eyes, that the boulder was called in Gaelic, Clach-nan-Sul—the stone of the eyes. In 1878 it was blasted by order of the road trustees, and the fragments were used as road metal.[2] To whatever cause the power of the Clach-nan-Sul was due, and perhaps St. Angus, the patron saint of the district, laid a spell upon it, there is no doubt that the other objects named, in common with St. Lucy's shells, derived their virtue from their saintly associations.

The mode of applying the shells is curious, and suggests the reflection that the cure must be almost as painful as the disease. The pilgrim, after receiving the shell, inserts it under the lower lid of the eye, near the bridge of the nose. The watering of the eye, consequent on this, is supposed to effect the cure. The shells in question are not shells in the ordinary sense of the word. Wishing to be clear as to the precise nature of the objects, I showed them to Professor John Young, who kindly supplied the desired information. Each shell, he tells me, is the *calcareous operculum* of a species of turbo, or whelk, and forms, as the term implies, the lid or cover closing the mouth of the shell proper. The smooth side is the one exposed to view, and the other is the side attached to the creature within the shell. These opercula are picked up on the Mediterranean coast.

St. Lucy's Day is the 13th of December. On her festival, prognostications regarding the weather used to be made. In Sardinia it is said that "if St. Lucy's day be bright, Christmas day will be dark with snow; but if the snow fall on St. Lucy, Christmas will be clear and sunny." Swainson, who quotes

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[1] *Ib.* vol. xi. p. 181. This Fillan is the Saint who gives name to Saint Fillans, at the foot of Loch Earn, not the Fillan connected with the district of Strathfillan.

[2] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. xxi. p. 85.

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this proverb, refers to the fact, that the 13th of December was reckoned in the old Calendar as the shortest day of the year. Hence the saying

"Lucy light"
"The shortest day and the longest night."[1]

It is rather remarkable that a saint whose very name implies brightness should be commemorated in the depth of the dark season, but perhaps we should look for an explanation in the circumstance that toward the middle of December is the very time when we stand most in need of light.

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[1] *A Handbook of Weather Folk-Lore*, by Rev. C. Swainson, p. 152.

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No. XXVIII.

FRENCH INFLUENCE IN SCOTTISH SPEECH,

BY

DAVID MACRITCHIE, F.S.A.Scot.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 21st February, 1895.*]

It was remarked by an English officer, who spent some time in Scotland during the latter part of last century, that "a man who visits this country, "after having been in France, will find, in a thousand instances, the "resemblance which there is betwixt these two nations."[1] And for this resemblance history affords a sufficient reason. "The close political and "social ties that bound Scotland to France," observes the late Francisque Michel,[2] "form a very striking feature in the history of both countries, "especially in that of the former. The Ancient League, traditionally dating "from the days of King Achaius and the Emperor Charlemagne, became "in the fourteenth century an undoubted fact, when both countries had "a common interest in resisting the ambition of the Plantagenet kings. "The frequent royal alliances, the steady intercourse, and the consequent "mutual change of ideas between the two kingdoms during the Stuart "era, could not fail to leave recognisable marks upon both nations. On "Scotland, as the more backward of the two countries, French influence "made a deep impression, ... its language, its social customs, its

[1] *Edinburgh Life 100 Years Ago* (William Brown, Edinburgh, 1886); being a selection from "Captain Topham's Letters." Page 18.

[2] In the Preface to his "Critical Inquiry into the Scottish Language." Blackwood & Sons, 1882.

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"business, its pastimes, were all more or less modified by the French "connection."

It is of one of these phases of the question that I wish specially to speak—the impression which this long-continued alliance left upon the speech of the Scottish people. That such an impression must have been made is obvious when one considers how very intimate the connection between the two countries was—so intimate that, for a considerable time, they formed rather one country than two;[1] Scottish merchants, and eventually the whole Scottish people, being made naturalized Frenchmen during the sixteenth century. One cause alone, the existence of the famous Scots Guard in France, would have contributed to the modification of Scottish speech. Readers of *Quentin Durward* will remember how Scott refers to "the well-known sound of the Scottish-French" in the taverns near Plessis-les-Tours during the fifteenth century. He uses the term *Scottish*-French advisedly; for it is not to be supposed that the majority of our countrymen spoke French as perfectly as the French themselves. This is clearly shown by many chaffing allusions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, current among Frenchmen, and quoted by Michel.[2] No doubt the success of the Scottish cavaliers in France gave rise to some little heart-burnings among the French; nevertheless, it appears quite evident that our worthy kinsmen gave a very peculiar Scottish twist to their French. *Beaucoup* they pronounced as "boucou," *auprès* as "awprès," *madame* as "mawdam," and so on. At this time, also, several proverbial expressions came into being in France; one of which, "to swear like a Scot," does not say much for the piety of our ancestors. Even the saying "as proud "as a Scot" did not exclusively denote that kind of pride which is the extreme of self-respect. This may be seen from a sketch given by Andrew Borde, an English writer of the sixteenth century, whose "Boke of the "Introduction of Knowledge"[3] contains quaint descriptions of the various

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[1] See, for example, "Memoirs concerning the Ancient Alliance between the French and Scots, and the Privileges of the Scots in France." Edinburgh, 1751.

[2] *Les Ecossais en France: Les Français en Ecosse.* Paris, 1862. Vol. ii. pp. 2-9.

[3] Completed by him at Montpellier on 3rd May, 1542: reprinted at London in 1814.

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nations of Europe. In that chapter which "treateth of Scotland, and the "natural disposicion of a Scotyshe man," he makes the representative Scot thus announce himself:—

> "I am a Scotyshe man and trew I am to fraunce
> In euery countrey, myselfe I do auaunce
> I wyll boost my selfe, I wyll crake and face
> I loue to be exalted, here and in euery place."

But although this hits off very neatly the weak points of our national pride, yet the proverb, "*fier comme un Ecossais*," indicated above everything the noblest kind of pride, that spirit which, to quote a French writer, made the Scot choose rather to die with honour than to live under the reproach of cowardice.

One result, then, of this familiarity with French people and the French language was that the speech not only of the gentry but of the general population of Lowland Scotland became to a certain extent Gallicised. As is well known, many traces of this influence yet survive; and a great many examples are found in the pages of Michel's work on the Scottish language. Nevertheless, Michel does not sufficiently discriminate between French words which presumably entered Scotland in comparatively recent times, and those which almost certainly are an inheritance from the Norman Conquest. Another Frenchman, of quite a different calibre, the popular writer known as Max O'Rell, has, in this respect, been more exact. After giving a list of French words existing in modern Scotch, he correctly observes—"These are not words borrowed from our milliners and dress-"makers, nor are they such as those relating to political economy, to "commerce and navigation, or to sport, such as we have borrowed from "the English, and which are unknown to the masses. They are popular "words denoting the necessary things of life, and even yet in use among "the goodwives of Scotland."[1]

Some examples of these words, then, as given by Michel, are the following:—In the kitchen there is the word *backet*, as applied to a wooden

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[1] *L'Ami MacDonald*, pp. 286-7.

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box for holding salt, and to another used for carrying coals and ashes,[1] which is quite obviously the French *baquet*. He also derives the word *dresser*, meaning a kitchen sideboard, from the French *dressoir*, and no doubt he is correct in doing so. But as this word is used in England also, in exactly the same way, it cannot be held to belong to the class of words introduced into Scotland direct from France three or four centuries ago. The same objection probably applies to several other kitchen words named by Michel; for although they are now obsolete in England, and I think also in Scotland, yet it is very likely that they came in with the Normans. Coming to the dining table, Michel gives us *servet*, a napkin (the French *serviette*), *jiggot* (French *gigot*), and *ashet* or *asset*, undoubtedly the French *assiette*; although it is to be noted that in Scotland the term is applied only to what Jamieson describes as "a large flat plate on which "meat is brought to the table."[2] Curiously enough, although Max O'Rell has no hesitation in identifying *caraff*, a decanter, with the French *carafe*, Michel thinks it necessary to say (*op. cit.*, p. 52) that "that word may "have come directly from the Italian *caraffa*, such vessel being formerly "of Venetian glass." But, had this been the case, one would have expected the word to retain the Italian and not the French sound. It further appears that certain small cakes, formerly sold in the streets of Edinburgh under the name of "petticoat-tails" were really *petits gatelles* (an old form of *gâteaux*), *i.e.*, "little cakes." *Gean*, the name given by us to the wild cherry, is simply the French *guigne*;[3] and *groset* or *grozel* (a gooseberry) is the French *groseille*. The mention of "petticoat-tails" as an old

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[1] Also, in Fife and the Lothians, "for carrying lime and mortar to masons." Michel, *Critical Inquiry*, p. 64, note.

[2] Michel, however, quotes also Sinclair's definition of *ashet* or *asset* as "a small dish or plate"; but I do not think this definition will find many supporters.

[3] I should also be inclined to derive from the French the name *paip*, given by Scotch boys to a cherry-stone. The word is used in connection with a game (styled *paips* or *paipie*), played at the time when cherries are in season; and a curious feature of this game is that the number of cherry-stones owned by the players is not stated in the usual way, but is always reckoned by fours—each four being called "a *caddle*." No doubt, *paip* is connected with English *pip*; but it appears to me much nearer the French *pépie* and *pépin*. The word *caddle* (four) is moreover strongly suggestive of the French *quatre*.

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Edinburgh street-cry recalls another cry of a more unpleasant character—the once-familiar "gardy-loo" (*gardez l'eau*), "beware of the water"; but this is one of the expressions which, being now obsolete, is of less interest than those still surviving. I may, however, notice the interesting plural word "fyancells" for "betrothal ceremonies," of which Michel gives an instance in the reign of James IV.;[1] and I have myself an example[2] of the plural word "funeralls" which, denoting as it does the obsequies of a single individual, is clearly a Scotticised form of the French *funérailles*. Another plural derived, as I believe, from the French, and still in use among old-fashioned people, is the word "severals," employed as a substantive and signifying several *people*. This, I think, is clearly a translation of the French adjective-noun, *plusieurs*, which has exactly the same signification.

The last example, it will be noticed, was not an instance of a French word Scotticised, but of a translation from the French. Michel has referred to such translations, whether of words or of idioms. For example, he points out that, while an Englishman would speak of "going to church," or of "saying grace," a Scotchman would speak of "going to *the* church" and "saying *the* grace"; the introduction of the definite article being a purely French idiom. He also cites a phrase, which I confess is unknown to me, "to have a good stomach," used in Scotland as signifying "to have a good "appetite"; and this also he regards as an importation from France.[3] Some other expressions that have occurred to me as having a like origin are these:—"To be colded," an everyday Scotch expression signifying "to have "a cold," and an exact translation of the French reflective verb "*s'enrhumer*." "*Je suis enrhumé*" could not be better translated than by "I am colded." Another reflective French verb that I believe has been translated by our forefathers is *se douter*. If one asks a Scotch rustic whether he thinks it will rain, and if he answers "I doot it will," he means that he has little doubt about the matter and is strongly convinced that it will rain. This,

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 51, note 2.

[2] The date is March 1742.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

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it will be seen, is just what a Frenchman would mean by "*Je m'en doute.*" Then again, it is generally considered a rank Scotticism to speak of "feeling "a smell," yet this use of "feel" in the sense of "perceive" or "be sensible "of" has an exact equivalent in the French *sentir*. "*Sentir l'odeur*" is good French; and "to feel the smell"—or, more correctly, "the odour"—is its literal translation.

"Honest" is another word which has a meaning common to Scotland and to France. In Scotland, the expression "honest man" may be used in a friendly way when speaking of a man whose "honesty" may be of a very doubtful nature; and this corresponds with certain applications of the French *honnête*, which often denotes civility and politeness without in the least signifying that the person thus characterised is the mirror of honesty. *Douce* and *dour*, both included in Max O'Rell's list, are obviously French words; and so also, in the same list, are *fashious* (Fr. *fâcheux*) and *to fash oneself* (Fr. *se fâcher*). *Kimmer*, or *cummer*, cited by the same writer and by Michel, is clearly recognisable as the French *commère* (gossip). One word in Max O'Rell's list which I do not find in Michel is *ruckle*, otherwise *rickle*, as in a "rickle o' banes." This he identifies, I think successfully, with the French *recueil*, a collection or heap. Captain Topham, again, the English officer already mentioned as having been struck with the resemblance between the Scots and the French, observed very justly that the use of the word *merchant* in Scotland, as applied to the very humblest shopkeeper, is in exact agreement with the application of *marchand* in France.

Many of the words given by Michel, however, cannot be regarded as imported direct from France into Scotland. *Biscuit* and *kickshaws*[1] (the latter a corruption of *quelque chose*) are as well known in England as in Scotland. *Napery*, so often quoted as peculiar to Scotland, may be found in any English dictionary; and *aumry* is noticed by Cotgrave as an English word—as Michel himself shows (*op. cit.*, p. 51). The small iron lamp, still called a *crusie* in Scotland, is identified by Michel with a similar lamp "used "in France under the same name" (*op. cit.*, p. 52); but he also shows, incidentally, and unintentionally, that this is a diminutive of the English

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 55.

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cruse. Moreover, he complicates the question and throws it much further back by quoting the Gaelic *cruisgin* and the Old French *creuesequin.* And when he points out (*op. cit.*, pp. 55, 56) that *cabbac* or *kebbuck*, a cheese, is found in Gaelic as *càbag*, the natural conclusion is that the word is Gaelic; although he himself regards it as "more likely that the etymon of those words is the Fr. *caboche*, Span. *cabeza.*"

Remeid, used in the sense of "redress," or "relief," is another interesting word cited by Michel. It has long been used in Scotland, and I am acquainted with a countryman who still uses it quite naturally, as in the sentence "Ye'll get nae remeid." Yet it occurs as early as in the elegy on the death of Alexander the Third, quoted by Wyntoun, but composed before his time; and it ought perhaps to be regarded as dating, in Great Britain, from the time of the Norman Conquest. Another of Michel's words[1] which appears to have a similar history is *tayleur* or *tylyour*, the modern "tailor." This pronunciation, which is identical with the French (*tailleur*), still survives in Scotland. But it is probable that, like many other words and pronunciations surviving in Scotland, it was formerly universal in England.

The Old French word for Easter, Pasque, has been perpetuated in Scotland as *Pasch*, *Pace*, *Peace*, *&c.* Till quite recently, I believe, Easter-eggs were spoken of as *Pace-eggs* in some parts of the country. Probably many other proper names could be traced to a French origin. For example, the female name Janet, which is very common in Scotland, and which is the French feminine of John (*Jeannette*).

I have, of course, only mentioned some of the words given by Michel; selecting by preference those which are not yet obsolete, and which may reasonably be held to date from the times of the Scoto-French alliance against the English. It is quite likely that many more words of this kind could yet be gleaned from living Scottish speech—words which have not yet been printed in any vocabulary. Only the other day I heard of a doctor in Forfarshire to whom a patient, an old woman, was detailing her symptoms. "Sometimes," she told him, "I'm in an awfu' sōōr." The word was quite new to him, but a moment's reflection convinced him that this was the

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 405.

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French *sueur* (sweat). The must be many more such words to be picked up here and there; and I fancy that several instances may have already occurred to some of the members of your Society who have listened to the reading of this paper.

NOTE.—Since this paper was read, I have noted the following passage in one of Mr. Oliphant's novels. "'No, she's no bairn,' said the minister, shaking his head. 'Two-
"'and-thirty weel-chappit, as the poor folk say.'" (*Who was lost and is found*, Blackwood, 1894, p. 118.) The "weel-chappit" in this sentence is exactly equivalent to the French *bien sonné*—as *Elle a trente-deux ans bien sonnés*. Another illustration has been afforded me by Mr. Dalrymple Duncan, who writes: "I also heard of an old Scotswoman who called boiled bread and milk *panade*." Several other words have occurred or have been suggested to me, *e.g.*, "tash'd," soiled (Fr. *taché*); but these cannot be appropriately discussed in what is merely a supplementary note.

It may be added that, in the course of the observations which followed the reading of this paper, it was pointed out that the use of "Peace" for Easter is common to England and Scotland, and it cannot therefore be referred to the times of the Scoto-French alliance.

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No. XXIX.

CAUDATUS ANGLICUS:

A MEDIÆVAL SLANDER.

BY

GEORGE NEILSON, F.S.A. Scot.

[*Read at a Meeting of the Society held on 21st March, 1895.*]

1. *The epithet, caudatus.*

The renowned Coke upon Littleton quotes approvingly the brocard that antiquity did nothing without sound reason.[1] It is a proposition no truer than a great many other utterances of proverbial wisdom. Our forefathers did and thought a great many very unreasonable things. The popular creed has always been well stocked with such inheritances of ignorance and myth. Sometimes it is possible to trace the origin of superstitions and misconceptions; oftener, hid in the depths of a far off time, they set at naught the most determined efforts of research. But although the quest after a positive solution may fail, there is always a gain to knowledge in the collection and grouping of a mass of facts of which the inner significance is but partially understood. In this spirit I approach the strange mediæval reproach which so often gratified Frenchmen and Scots desirous of poking ill-natured fun at their common hereditary foe. There can be no doubt whatever that for centuries Englishmen felt it as a very real and aggravating reproach, a sore thorn in the flesh. Its utter and obvious untruth by no means robbed it of its smart. Malice never galls more deeply than when its shafts are barbed with ridicule. The very absurdity of the thing makes it impossible to argue it away, but the irritation it excites is not a whit less keen on that account.

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[1] Nil sine prudenti ratione vetustas.

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Scotsmen and Frenchmen believed or professed to believe—which came to the same thing—that Englishmen were, in one particular, not as other men are. In consequence, an opportunity was frequently taken to refer to an alleged fact of natural history so interesting in itself, and so unpalatable to the persons reminded of it. Of course it was scandalously unfair to go, literally, behind the Englishmen's backs with any insinuation of the kind, but then we know that wherever there is racial antagonism fairness becomes a very secondary consideration.

So far as my researches go, it is not until near the end of the twelfth century that the term *caudatus* emerges as an epithet of reproach and contempt applied to Englishmen. Obviously an adjective derived from the Latin *cauda* a tail, its natural and ordinary meaning is *tailed*,[1] so that applied to a man it suggests, in the absence of any better and more convincing explanation, that he possesses a tail—the lack of which forms one of several characteristics of superiority distinguishing common humanity alike from the beasts of the field and the denizens of the water, the forest, and the air. Some scholars of our own time, setting aside the traditional account of the origin of the term as applied to Englishmen, seem to have sought another explanation, which shall be discussed in its due place. But first it is necessary to give the narratives of certain twelfth and thirteenth century chroniclers, followed by historical examples of the actual use of the offensive epithet and by some later literary allusions which close, in international bantering satire, these annals of a jibe.

2. *A legend of St. Augustine, 1143-1205.*

William of Malmesbury in his *Gesta Pontificum* (*circa* 1143), tells a story of Augustine's mission to England in the year 597.[2]

The Saint was preaching very successfully at Cerne in Dorsetshire when certain of the inhabitants, stirred up by the Devil who grieved to lose so many souls, attacked the holy man, dishonoured him with insults, and, going so far

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[1] Taylyd as bestys, Caudatus. Promptorium Parvulorum.

[2] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, R.S. 184-5; *Scriptores post Bedam*, 142.

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as to fasten rays' tails to his garments,[1] drove him despitefully away. In this earliest version of the incident there is no mention of any miraculous vengeance following the act. The offenders quickly repented, craved forgiveness, and were baptised—for which purpose it was, owing to a scarcity of water, necessary for the saint himself to bring to the surface a hidden spring still used in Malmesbury's time and known by Saint Augustine's name. In this earliest and comparatively simple form of the story of the Saint's early experiences in Dorsetshire, the miraculous element is not obtrusively present and does not manifest itself in any miraculous legend of vengeance upon the scoffers. But the legend soon came, if indeed, as is most probable, it was not already in existence. It may even have been known to Malmesbury but critically rejected by him. Although he recorded his fair share of miracles he was in many respects above the superstitions of his time, and perhaps in this instance his silence is an expression of disbelief. There was room enough for a little honest doubt at such a juncture, but it must be owned that presumptions are against the ascription to him of a scepticism so robust.

In Master Robert Wace's romance of the "Brut" written (*circa* 1155) only a few years later than Malmesbury's Histories—which were amongst the authorities used in its composition—the legend reappears.[2]

Sains Augustins les sermona	[Saint Augustine preached to them
Et la loi Deu lor prééça.	And taught them the law of God.
Cil furent de male nature	But they were of evil nature;
Qui de lor sermon n'orent qure.	They cared not for his preaching.
La ou li sains lor sermonoit	Even there—where the saint was preaching to them
Et la loi Deu lor anonçoit,	And declaring unto them God's law—
A ses dras de tries lor pendoient	On his garments they hung
Keues de raies qu'il avoient;	The tails of ray-fish which they had.
Od les keues l'on envoièrent	With tails they sent him off

[1] Ita ut etiam caudas racharum vestibus ejus affigerent. A modern corrective but erroneous reading is *vaccarum* for *racharum* proposing to substitute cow tails instead of fish tails! See the Monasticon, ed. 1846, vol. ii. p. 621.

[2] Wace's Brut (ed. Le Roux de Lincy), Rouen, 1836-38, vol. ii. pp. 251-3, lines 14165-190. I have to thank Mr. Joseph Bain, of the Record Office, for kindly making for me the transcript from Wace, whose Brut, in the original French, is, strange to say, to be found in no public library in either Edinburgh or Glasgow.

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Et bien longement le cachierent.	And chased him far away.
Et il proia nostre Signor	And he prayed that Our Lord
Que d'icele grant deshonor	For that great dishonour
Et de cele grant avilance	And that great disgrace
Ait en ax s'ire et demostrance.	Would wreak upon them his anger and judgment.
Et il si orent voirement	And verily they had it
Et aront pardurablement,	And shall have it forever.
Car trestot cil qui l'escarnèrent	For all those who did him shame
Et qui les keues li pendirènt	Were tailed and had tails,
Furent cöe et cöes orent,	They can never lose them more.
Ne onques puis perdre ne's porent.	All of them have been tailed since then,
Tot cil ont puis este coé,	All who were of that kin,
Qui furent de tel parenté;	Tails have they in the flesh
Keues ont de tries en la car,	In remembrance of the shame
En ramanbrance de l'escar	Which they did to the friend of God
Qu'il firent al Deu ami	When they put tails upon him.]
Qui des keues l'orent laidi.	

Here we have the legend almost as it were in its cradle, and yet already in all its fulness. The narrative in this famous poem describes the arrival of St. Augustine at Dorchester, locating there the insult of the fish tails, now followed by consequences grevious and degrading.[1] Subsequent versions are only echoes—some with distorted variations.

What Wace had said in Old French was, not later than 1205, said again by Layamon in Old English in his expanded reading of the Brut. It describes St. Augustine's arrival—at Dorchester according to one manuscript, at Rochester[2] according to another—where his preaching was derided; the

[1] Augustine's character as generally reflected in tradition was not absolutely out of keeping with the conception of it conveyed by this story. It was roundly asserted that he had the power of punishing sins on earth and avenging injuries upon him (W. Thorn in Decem. Scrip., 2005). His bearing was felt by the Briton bishops to be offensively haughty at the conference of 603, which broke up in threats of God's vengeance, invoked by him on the heads of the Welsh monks (Beda, Historia Ecclesiastica, ii. 2), threats which were supposed to be fulfilled some ten years afterwards. Even during his own lifetime he had acquired a reputation for his miracles (Beda, i. 31), and the Pope wrote to him not to be puffed up on that account. Some with which he was credited have a very stern aspect (Bromton in Decem. Scrip., 736, Actes of English Votaryes (1546), p. 24). On the whole, Augustine seems to have been reputed a severe, not to say vindictive, saint—like a good many of his brethren.

[2] A difference of locality jealously regarded by county patriots desirous of shifting the burden off their shoulders to those of their neighbours.

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inhabitants spurned him, took rays' tails and hung them on his cope—

And nomen tailes of rehȝen
And hangede on his cape.

Indignant he prayed to God for vengeance. The prayer was heard and God sent his judgment on "the folk that hanged the rays' tails on the clerks. "The tails came upon themselves, therefore is it that they be tailed. "The whole race was disgraced for muggles[1] they had, and in all companies "men call them mugglings,[2] and every freeman speaketh foul of them and "of English freemen in foreign parts; for that deed they have a red face."

Tha tailes heom comen on[3]
Ther voren heo maȝen iteled beon
Iscend wes that mon-cun
Muggles heo hafden
And inen hirede ælches
Men clepeth heom muglinges
And ever elc freo mon
Ful telleth heom on
And Englisce freomen
In uncuthe londen
For than ilke dede
Heo habbeoth neb rede.

Layamon's additions to the legend (lines 29587-600) are the point of chief contrast between his account and that of Wace. From Layamon we first hear of the nickname of Mugglings, and of the shame which the story occasioned not to the men of Dorsetshire or of Kent merely, but to Englishmen generally. Go where they might their faces were reddened by unkind reminders. Sarcastic foreigners could not be expected to display a tedious nicety in fine distinctions between English counties. It was far better for their purpose to slump the conclusions into a single adjective. If everybody always desired to be exactly accurate what would become of satire?

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[1] Muggles, tails (Stratmann). See Bower's rendering, chapter 9, below. Sir F. Madden, however, glossed the word as ray-fish.

[2] Mugglings, tailed persons.

[3] Layamon, ed. Sir F. Madden, line 29585. Sir F. Madden's elaborate note on the passage is almost exhaustive.

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3. *An incident concerning Archbishop Thomas Becket, 1170.*

A second story—not, however, like that just told, expressly in its initial form connecting itself with the origin of the tails—is told of the last days of Archbishop Thomas of Canterbury, murdered in his cathedral in December, 1170. There is nothing miraculous about it as given by the annalists of the time, and it may be set down as unquestionably a fact. On the Christmas day before his martyrdom, according to Ralf de Diceto, a well-informed contemporary,[1] he, with candles burning, solemnly excommunicated Robert de Broc. Robert it was said "had to insult and shame him docked the tail (*decurtaverat*) of a horse[2] of the Archbishop's carrying provisions."[3] Roger of Hoveden, also a contemporary of repute, says[4] that the day before the excommunication Broc had cut off the tail of the Archbishop's sumpter. There is even better evidence of the injurious insult, for two monks who were in Canterbury when the Archbishop was murdered record the direct words of the prelate himself. In the interview with the murderers in the palace before the great tragedy was consummated, the Archbishop expressly complained. "A mare in my service," he said,[5] "has in contempt of my name had its tail cut off—as though I could be "put to shame by the mutilation of a beast!" Legend began to grow very quickly after the martyrdom. One of the Canterbury monks declares[6]

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[1] R. de Diceto, R.S. i. 342. Decem Scriptores, 555. Repeated in Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora (R.S.) ii. 280.

[2] This was an insult of well-known type. Instances occur in Blind Harry's Wallace, v., line 753. See also quotation in Du Cange voce caudatus. Si ipse aliquos equites in instanti equos decaudaret. To cut off the tails of their horses was a token of grief and humiliation with the Saracens. See Itinerarium Richardi iv., 14, Archer's *Crusade of Richard I.*, p. 144.

[3] There was, however, a different ground of excommunication. Archæologia Cantiana, vi. 35-6.

[4] Hoveden (R.S.), ii. 14. Scriptores post Bedam, 298.

[5] William of Canterbury in *Materials for History of Archbishop Thomas Becket* (R.S.), i. 130. Jumentum in nominis mei contemptum tanquam in diminutione bestiae dehonestari possim cauda truncatum est. A slightly different version is given by Gervase of Canterbury, see Gervase (R.S.) i. 225, and in Decem Scriptores, 1415.

[6] William of Canterbury in *Materials for History of Archbishop Thomas Becket*, i. 120.

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that such was the efficacy of the murdered primate's anathema hurled against Broc by the excommunication, that the very dogs rejected the bread which his hands had touched, although greedily accepting food from others. No contemporary historian, however, whispers a word to parallel in the case of St. Thomas, the divine vengeance evoked by the prayer of St. Augustine. Marvels enough were ascribed to St. Thomas in the days of Henry II., but that was not one. That myth took a long time to grow, and when it did it was doubtless through a mere confusing of the two Archbishops.

4. *Early instances of the epithet, 1190-1292.*

Incidents of crusading history compel the inference that, in the twelfth century, there was a widespread notion that Englishmen had tails. Richard of Devizes, describing the crusade of Richard I. and the events at Messina in 1190, represents the Greeks as eager to have vengeance on the English king and his *caudati*, his tailed men. For, says he, both Greeks and Sicilians called all the followers of that king "Englishmen" and "tailed."[1] This passage, from the pen of a writer living at the time, is the oldest instance[2] I have seen of the term *caudati* applied to Englishmen. Its direct bearing on the meaning, and indirect evidence on the origin of the term, are of high importance. It implies that the offensive adjective was used as special and peculiar to the English. That it was at the time, when it first came into use, thought to mean a tailed man is brought out clearly by an Early English poem, probably of the thirteenth century, dealing with this very period. In the romance of Richard Coer de Leon the Emperor of Cyprus dismisses certain messengers of King Richard with these words—[3]

> Out taylards of my paleys!
> Now go and say your tayled king
> That I owe him no thing.

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[1] Richard of Devizes, Eng. Hist. Soc. p. 20. Tota injuriarum de rege Anglorum et caudatis suis ultio quaeritur. Graeculi et Siculi omnes hunc regem sequentes Anglos et caudatos nominabant.

[2] It is a pleasure to acknowledge my obligation to Mr. T. A. Archer's *Crusade of Richard I.*, p. 26, for drawing my attention to the passage in question.

[3] Richard Coer de Leon in Weber's Metrical Romances, ii. 31.

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And in describing the English king's homeward journey from the Holy Land and the events leading up to his captivity, the romance narrates[1] how when he had fallen into the clutches of the King of Allemayne

> The king called Rychard be name
> And clepyd hym taylard and sayde hym schame.

These taunts leave nothing to be desired in the matter of explicitness. They demonstrate the European area of the belief. Needless to say, the French relished it exceedingly. In 1217, after Prince Louis of France had sustained a defeat at Lincoln at the hands of the national party amongst the English barons, a wit of the French side made rather a poor show of mirth in a couple of verses,[2] declaring that King Philip was not afraid.

Rex in Rupella regnat et amodo bella. Non timet Anglorum quia caudas fregit eorum.	[In old Rochelle our monarch reigns All fear of England he disdains. And why? Their warlike valour quails Before him, since he broke their tails.][3]

So gross a travesty of the truth was this, that not only the victory in the encounter of rival rhymes, but the more substantial victory of fact, lay unequivocally with the Englishmen, who retorted that they had used their tails in tying up the French.

Ad nostras caudas Francos, ductos ut alaudas Perstrinxit restis: superest Lincolnia testis.	[By a rope at our tails the French were strung, Like larks in a row for the spit they hung; If I tell not true as it was that day, I appeal to Lincoln: let Lincoln say.]

In this same year, 1217, occurs the earliest Scottish use of this reproach. There had been a highly unpopular mission of English churchmen into this country, and a Scottish satirist in some objurgatory verses took the opportunity of delicately referring to the intrusive priests as possessing tails.[4] Similarly in France, towards the middle of the thirteenth century, the idea

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[1] Richard Coer de Leon, ii. 83, cited in N. and Q. series, vii. 212.

[2] Chronicle of Lanercost, 95.

[3] Once for all, let me in sackcloth and ashes apologise for the metrical and other iniquities of my verse translations. Probably the *ryme cowée* or tailed rhyme would have been the appropriate measure! But the doggerel muse is not propitious.

[4] Bower ii. 41. Sunt prædicti clerici nuncii caudati.

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flourished. Jacques de Vitry, a well-known writer who died in 1244, in a severe account of Parisian life in general and of Parisian students in particular, numbers among the vices of the latter a spirit of detraction which led them to indulge in impudent sneers and insults[1] towards the peoples of other nations. The Flemings they said were soft as butter, the Brabanters were men of blood, the Burgundians were brutes and fools, the Germans were filthy madmen, while the English, who head the list, were topers and tailed—*Anglicos potatores et caudatos.*

Frenchmen and Englishmen have never worked well as allies. We have already seen that in the crusade of Richard I. the epithet *caudatus* was flung at the English in Sicily. In Palestine, during another crusading campaign in 1250, a quarrel broke out, in consequence of which the joint camp was broken up, the English disjoining their quarters from those of the French. Count Robert of Artois, brother of Louis IX., remarked to his companions that he was very glad the army of the noble Francs[2] was quit of those tailed men. At a later stage he repeated the offensive remark in the presence of the English commander, the renowned and valorous earl of Salisbury, William Longsword. Count Robert lost his temper at a council of war, and in a burst of passion upbraided the English with cowardice. "Oh the poltroonery,"[3] he said, "of "you timorous men with tails! What a blessed riddance it were for the army "to be purged of tails and tailed men!" Stung by the sneer the stout Englishman hotly answered that in the fight that day he would[4] ride where Count Robert would not dare to follow his horse's tail. His indignant vaunt was justified. There was a fierce battle. The Soldan's army of Saracens far outnumbered the champions of the Cross; they swept and surged around them, says Matthew Paris, "like the stormy waves around an islet in the sea." In the very height of the battle, when the fate of the day swung in the balance and only the absolute constancy and union of the allies could avoid destruc-

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[1] Jacques de Vitry. Historia Orientalis et Occidentalis (1597), p. 279.

[2] Matthew Paris (R.S.), v. 134, ed. Wats, p. 785. Nunc bene mundatur magnificorum exercitus Francorum a caudatis.

[3] Ibid. (R.S.), v. 151, ed. Wats, 790. O timidorum caudatorum formidolositas quam beatus quam mundus praesens foret exercitus si a caudis purgaretur et caudatis.

[4] Erimus credo hodie ubi non audebis caudam equi mei attingere.

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tion, and whilst Longsword was fighting lionlike against a host, Count Robert, panic-stricken, counselled flight. "Please God," returned the gallant Englishman, "my father's son shall never flee from any Saracen." "Many a soul," says the historian, "he sent to Tartarus." But at last the overmastering odds prevailed, and the English general lay dead. And the blustering Count, the "noble Franc" who had taunted the tailed Englishmen with cowardice, and, when the stress of battle with the infidel called for the last effort of every Christian blade, himself turned tail—what of him? One forgives the evident satisfaction of the chronicler in recording that he did not escape—that he was drowned in his ignoble flight.

That the phrase was not confined to the Continent for its currency is shewn by an allusion in a chronicle[1] of the Barons' Wars, where *caudatus* appears as an epithet of *Anglicus*, but, unfortunately, in a connection which makes it difficult to determine its precise meaning. It may have been "tailed," or it may have been "cowed," and it may have carried a suggestion of fox-like cunning. The phrase, epigrammatic with probably a double sense, certainly contains an allusion to the tails—of interest as made by an Englishman to his own fellow-countrymen.

The continual tension and irritation between the French and English explains the bitterness of some phrases and episodes. In 1292 a brawl took place between English and French sailors; the latter complained[2] to King Philip, and—*ejus bilem contra Anglicos commoverunt*—raised his bile against the English, saying that it was a disgrace to himself and to his people that they should have been so ill-treated—*ut a caudatis taliter tractarentur*—by men with tails. Hostilities and reprisals followed, and so hot was the international fever of hate that the privileges of even pilgrims and scholars were not respected. Charles, brother of the French king, hanged several unfortunates, and, says the chronicler[3] of Lanercost, "side by side with "them he hanged live dogs because he reckoned dogs and Englishmen

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[1] Johannes de Oxenedes (R.S.), 223; see also notes to Rishanger (Camden Society), 131. Illo tempore baronibus illuxerat dies sanctificatus ibi quicunque fugerat Anglicus est caudatus plenus versutiis fallax et instabilis et exanimatus.

[2] Rishanger (R.S.), 130-1.

[3] Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 150.

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"alike." "They made no difference," says another English historian,[1] "between a dog and an Englishman"—a barbarity, unfortunately, far from unique,[2] and theoretically based on a cruel symbolism.

5. *Some Scottish examples, 1296-1341.*

The policy of Edward I. was bringing Scotland and England, after a century of peace, into deadliest enmity. When the war of independence began, the objectionable epithet *caudatus* was from the outset found established in the north. On more than one occasion our forefathers are recorded to have enlivened the preliminary skirmishes before their battles by mirthful allusions to the tails with which they accredited the adversary. It must be owned that the joke was of ill omen for their side. In each historical example of its use by the Scots it was an expression of the

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[1] Knyghton in Decem Scriptores, 2495.

[2] Thus in 1182 a Roman cardinal was murdered in Constantinople by the Greeks, who, not content with putting him to death, tied a dog to his corpse so that the dog's tail was against his mouth. (Robert de Monti.) In 1127 Bertulf, provost of Bruges, suspected of complicity in the murder of Earl Charles the Good, was put to death with every cruelty which the fury of the populace could suggest; and the rabble of Ypres, in a frenzy of rage against him, twisted the *viscera* of a dog round his neck, and placed the dog's mouth against his when he was breathing out his soul, equalling him, says the Flemish contemporary authority, Galbert de Bruges in the Histoire du Meurtre de Charles le Bon, ch. 57, "with a dog." In Aragon this savage metaphor took a slightly different shape. In 1247 a man was sentenced (see *Du Cange voce* Murelegus) to be drawn from one gate of a city to the other, naked, with a cat hung round his neck behind his back, and to be scourged to death. A dog was the more usual symbol under such circumstances. An old authority on the chivalric duel in France tells in his treatise on the subject (see *Traités du Duel Judiciaire* publiés par B. Frost, Paris, 1872, p. 51-2) that a young Jew hurled his lance at an effigy of Our Lady, "in despite of the Glorious Virgin and of our faith," so that blood sprang from the wound on the Glorious Lady's forehead. There was an insufficiency of evidence to prove the charge by the ordinary forms of law, and a frail old man, a carpenter, challenged the Jew to judicial combat. Battle was adjudged; it was fought with shield and baton—the combatants being of low rank; and the old carpenter gained the victory. The vanquished Jew, who confessed his crime, was hanged between two mastiffs, because, says Oliver, "it is the custom and the law wills that in doing "justice on a Jew he should be hanged between two dogs as a beastly and infidel man." See also Lecky's Rationalism in Europe (1884), ii. 276. Bigotry and ignorance seldom do more harm than when as in these last instances they are mistaken for Christian principles. What wonder that such crude theories had such brutal results.

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haughty spirit that precedes a fall. It was always a prelude to disaster. Thus in 1296 when Edward I. advanced to the attack of Dunbar the garrison of the castle shouted from behind[1] their battlements that the English were tailed dogs (*canes caudatos*); and they threatened them not with death merely but with amputation of their tails! But the event of the battle, the utter defeat of the Scots, and the immediate surrender of the castle thereupon, supplied a somewhat painful commentary to this ebullition of ancient Scottish wit. Next year the joke turned out no better when it was repeated on the west border. A small squadron of 100 mounted men-at-arms had crossed the Solway, and was on the march inland, followed at a considerable distance by a heavy body of infantry. The men of Annan, gathered on the hill-slope south of the town, do not appear to have been sufficiently alive to the circumstance that the rear of the handful of horse was being brought up by a battalion of 20,000 foot. They twitted the advanced guard of cavalry with their small numbers, and jeered at them as (*canes caudatos*) tailed dogs.[2] As at Dunbar so here the Scots had need to rue the jesting of that day. The heavy English horse dashed at the band of Scots, cut their way through, and with the aid of the infantry which hastened to their assistance, killed some 300 of the dalesmen who had been too hasty with their jibes. Yet again in 1332, on the night before Dupplin battle, the Scottish troops mustered in defence of the land from the invading expedition of Edward Baliol and his English allies, went to bed singing—according to the testimony of one of our own oldest historians—songs about the tailed Englishmen.[3] They prophesied valiantly the downfall of these

Anglici caudati pro caudis vituperati.

Inspired, it is hinted, more by Bacchus than by Mars, they declaimed in melodious numbers how they would on the morrow turn their tails into

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[1] Hemingburgh, ii. 103. Clamantes ad nostros et eos probrose vocantes canes caudatos et talia quæque insuper comminantes in mortem et caudarum abscissionem.

[2] Hemingburgh, ii. 146-7. Knyghton in Decem Scriptores, 2522.

[3] Bower, ii. 304-5. Depromentes cantus et dicens quod—

Anglici caudati pro caudis vituperati.

De caudis eorum ut dixerunt funes sibi facerent ad seipsos Anglos in crastino vinciendos.

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ropes to bind them as prisoners; or, according to a sterner version,[1] (with a side reference to a well-known preliminary degradation of capital punishment) how they would draw them to the gallows by their tails. The morrow, however, saw another sight, the forces of Baliol routed their opponents, and proved for at least the third time in Scottish history that boastful jokes are apt to be premature. The worthy Abbot of Inchcolm, a preacher almost as much as a chronicler, could not be expected to resist so improving an occasion at once to point a moral and—if it may be said without suspicion of a pun—to adorn a tale. "Assuredly," said he, "it "is better to be humbly fearful than proudly confident. O Scottish people, "in arms sufficiently strenuous, but stubborn and proud, knowing little of "the future, walking amid impending marvels, you heed not the sentence "of Seneca that never did proud joy stand secure! Yesterday you were "telling how you would make ropes of the tails of the English to tie them "with. Now, you are yourselves bound in actual chains!"

It was some time before Scotland fairly got rid of the consequences of that invasion, before she freed herself of the fetters which the aggressive policy of Edward III. endeavoured to cast round her. An undated poem, of perhaps about the year 1341 when the capture of the castles of Edinburgh and Roxburgh had almost completed the expulsion of the English garrisons from the country, contains, although difficult to understand in its entirety, allusions manifest enough.[2]

The tails came in they had their day,
Now they're curtailed and cut away;
Freedom restored regains its voice—
Sing Scotland therefore and rejoice!

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[1] Liber Pluscardensis, i. 265. Dicentes quod Anglicos caudatos ad suspendium traherent.

[2] *Exprobatio Scotorum.*

Caude causantur regnarunt apocapantur
Privantur caude fas fandi Scotia plaude.

Responsio Anglorum.

Scotia scotabit strebae Scotus vix latitabit
Anglia jam frange fas fandi Scotia plange.

Wright's Political Poems (R.S.) 127-8.

The translation of the Responsio I willingly leave to someone whose mediæval Latin is not so slender as mine. "Scotia scotabit strebae" I do not understand.

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There is one further instance which probably is to be set down as of the date embraced by the present chapter. Although it does not directly allude to the ever-recurrent topic of the Scoto-Anglic satyrists, there is an oblique glance towards it. Hitherto all the allusions have been to tailed men; this one is to tailed women—a solitary instance of an imputation so ungallant. It occurs in a poem on the extravagance of dress—a theme on the treatment of which the author in one line,

Vestes non homines omnis honorat homo,

clearly forestalls the philosophy of Sartor Resartus that Society is founded upon Cloth, and in another adumbrates a great modern scientific hypothesis. The unknown bard, presumably a Scot, after ridiculing the garb of the Englishman generally, falls foul of his beard like a boar's bristles, and declares that in the whole circuit of the earth there is no more swaggering he-goat. The next object of attack is the dagger; then comes a fling at the hood or hat tied on with a red cord and resembling an earthen pot! After that he concludes with the two following verses[1]:—

Indutam si videris quamquam dominarum	[Do but look at a dame of degree
Caudatam percipies duarum ulnarum	Her tail of two ells long[2] you'll see
Stolam post se trahere; ad modum ferarum	—A skirt like what beasts bear behind!
Fugies. Sic funus	No wonder in fright if you fly
Inde quidem domino fert acceptabile munus.	The reason's too obvious why
	Ev'n her lord deems her death not unkind.
Quoddam genus simiae gens est Anglicana	The Anglican race are but apes;
Ceteros quotidie fert ut videt: vana	Each day brings fresh follies and japes
Plura nunc inertiae dantur et mundana	More and more they're to idleness given
Mentis lascivorum.	More and more they seek only delight
Nobis cunctorum rex praestet regna polorum.	Less and less is their love for the right
	But for US may God grant us his heaven.]

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[1] Bower, i. 222.

[2] The Scots Act, 1457, cap. 13, dealt with this. "And as to ther gowyns, that na woman weir . . . talys of unfittande lenthe." Sir David Lindsay made this theme classic.

Sovrane, I mene of thir Syde Taillis
Quhilk throw the dust and dubbis traillis
Thre quarteris lang behynd thair heillis
Expres agane all Commonnweillis.

[Mene in the above lines = complain; and syde = long.]

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The equation of Englishmen as a species of monkeys may be viewed as an odd empiric forecast of Darwin's graver solution of the universe. How far it arose from the tail which precedes or the folly which follows it the judicious reader can judge for himself.

6. *In fourteenth century chronicle.*

The fourteenth century took up the tale. Robert Manning of Brunne, who in 1338 wrote the Story of Inglande, has a chapter with the express heading—"Why Englishmen are called tailed," and in a few vigorous lines states the traditional cause on the model of Wace and Layamon. Like Layamon he complains that the whole English race is scandalised—

For tailles al Englische kynde ys blamed—

for a peculiarity which in truth only belongs to a few. After mentioning the advent of St. Augustine at Rochester, Manning thus[1] proceeds—

But there he stod them to preche
And ther savacion for to teche
Byhynd hym on his clothes they henge
Righe[2] tailles on a strenge. *Qua de causa Anglici vocantur Caudati*
When they had don that vyleny
They drof hym thenne wyth maistri
Fer weys they gan hym chace.
Tailles they casten in hys face.
Thys holy man God bisought
For they hym that vileny wrought
That on them and on al ther kynde
Tailled alle men schulde hem fynde
And God graunted al that he bad[3]
For alle that kynde tailles had—
Tailles hadde and tailles have:
Fro that vengaunce non may them save
For they wyth tailles the goodeman schamed
For tailles al Englische kynde ys blamed
In manie sere[4] londes seyd
Of tho tailles we have umbreyde[5]

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[1] Robert of Brunne (R.S.), lines, 15193-212.
[2] Righe, rays'.
[3] Bad, prayed.
[4] Sere, different.
[5] Umbreyde, abuse.

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Somewhat later an Italian poet, Fazio degli Uberti, writing before 1360, supplies an example of the persistency of continental belief in the tails of Englishmen, adding, moreover, a statement of dimensions on which no previous writer had condescended.

> Now[1] this I saw not; but so strange a thing
> It was to hear, and by all men confirmed
> That it is fit to note it as I heard
> To wit, there is a certain islet here
> Among the rest where folk are born with tails,—
> Short as are found in stags and suchlike beasts.

Meanwhile the tails continued to flourish at home, varying their characteristics with each repetition. In the English prose version of the Brut fresh circumstances emerge, shewing not only how the tails came, but, if possible, still more curiously how judicious mothers could obviate the curse.

"Saynt Austine[2] come to Rouchester and there prechid Goddis worde. "The paynims therfore hym scornede and caste uppon hym reyghe tayles "and for more despite they keste uppon hym guttis of reyghes and of other "fysshe wherefore the good man saynt Austyne was sore anoyede and grevede "and prayed to God that alle the children that shulde be borne afterward "in that citee of Rochester muste have tayles. And whenne the kyng "herde and wiste of this vengaunce that was falle thurghe saynt Austines "powere he lette make one howse in honour of God where in wommen "shulde have hire children at the brugges ende: in whiche hous women "yette of the citee be delyveride of child."

And still the wonder grew. The alleged terminal equipment of the Englishman was a first-class subject for decorative treatment. Like the lion's tail in heraldry it threw out ornamental shoots at every turn.

7. *In French fifteenth century satire.*

During the wars in France early in the fifteenth century, about the time of Agincourt, a good deal of satirical epigrammatic verse was penned.

[1] From lib. iv., cap. 23, of the Ditta Mondo, by Fazio degli Uberti (1326-1360), cited in Dante and his Circle, by D. G. Rossetti, ii. 434.

[2] English prose Brut, cap. xcviii. MS. Harl, 24 f. 54 b., cited by Sir F. Madden in Notes to Brut iii. 420-21.

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One set of these versicles,[1] falling into line with the subject of this compilation, consists of a railing accusation by the French, followed by a short reply from the English side. The Versus Francorum written in rhymed Latin reproach the English people with the evil deeds they have done to their fellow-Christians amongst the French. They charge England with broken faith, and accuse her of being a lover of deceit whilst professing better things. The sting of the satire, however, all goes into the three concluding lines translatable roughly thus:—

> Cut off the knotted poisonous tail which thou behind dost bear!
> Give ear unto our Prince's words: remember and beware:
> For God who gave to thee a tail, crowned him with gracious care.

The English reply written in ordinary elegiacs is blunt to a degree, and merely contains the retort that folk who talk loudest are not the greatest in the fight.

> Why liar strik'st thou England thus, thy mouth thy only sword?
> Sole answer to thy prating words, two lines I do accord:
> He who is least in arms is best in combat with the tongue;[2]
> A foolish woman's hard to match for length and strength of lung.

Doubtless there were many such allusions in the fugitive satire of the time. One French song of the type called *vaux-de-vire*, from the pen of

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[1] They are published in Wright's *Political Poems*, (R.S.) pp. 127-128.

Versus Francorum.

> O gens Anglorum morum flos gesta tuorum
> Cur tu Francorum procuras damna bonorum?
> Servorum Christi quos tractas crimine tristi
> Et servant isti fidem quam bis renuisti
> Sub specie casti fraudem tu semper amasti
> Scindas annosam caudam quam fers venenosam
> Exaudi praesto tu praesul et memor esto
> Qui te caudavit Deus ipsum sanctificavit.

Responsio Anglorum.

> Anglorum gentem cur false percutis ore?
> Et pro responso do tibi metra duo
> Prævalet in lingua qui non est fortior armis
> Nullus in hac pugna plus meretrice valet.

[2] This was an ancient and pious English opinion of the French. "Fight they can with wordes loud" was the way in which it was expressed by the author of the old romance of Coer de Leon.

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Olivier Basselin, dating from that period—perhaps about 1417—begins by merrily declaring that the singer would like to go to live in England. His reason is odd enough.[1]

He! cuidez-vous que je me joue
Et que je voulsisse aller
En Engleterre desmourer?
Ils ont une longue coue

[Ho ho! do you know
That I fain would go
Across into Angleterre
In that land to dwell
I should like full well
They carry a long tail there.]

But as a later ballad has it—

Helas! Olivier Basselin
N'orrons nous poinct de vos nouvelles?
Vous ont les Engloys mys à fin.

The English are believed to have brought the satirist to a bad end; catching the luckless Olivier, they forestalled future sarcasms by hanging him.[2]

In French hands the witticism was still further drawn out. Not only were tails attributed to the men of England; the wags affected to find even in English animals distinguishing characteristics. A romancer[3] in 1477 drew inferences from the tail of a cat.

8. *In the English Golden Legend.*

Alexander of Essebye (or whoever else was the writer of the chronicle to which, for doubtful reasons, his name was long ago given), an abridger of Matthew of Paris,[4] is said[5] to have written that Augustine "when fish tails "were despitefully thrown at him by certaine men of Dorsetshire was so

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[1] Recueil de Chants Historiques Francais (Leroux de Lincy), vol. i. p. 300.

[2] Work last cited, pp. 229-302.

[3] Cited in Du Cange voce caudatus.

Ce Cat nonne vient de Calais
Sa mere fut Cathau la Bleue
Cest du lignage des Anglois
Car il porte tres longue queue.

[This cat comes not from Calais
His mother was Cathau the Blue
His ancestry must have been English
So terribly long is his queue.]

[4] Descriptive Catalogue of Materials for Brit. Hist. iii. 145.

[5] Lambarde's Peramb., Kent, sub. Stroude. I am compelled to make this citation from Esseby at second hand as his chronicle is still unpublished, and—being in Canterbury—not easily accessible to me.

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"furiously vexed therrwith that he called upon God for revenge and he "forthwith heard him and strake them with tails for their punishment." So far there is no variance from what we have read over and over again already. But in the English Golden Legende divergences and new circumstances appear. The story had been absolutely absent from the original Legenda Aurea, but the English version finds the tails well developed.

"After this Saynt Austyn[1] entryd in to Dorsetshyre and came in to a "towne where as were wycked peple and refused his doctryne and prechyng "utterly, and droof hym out of the towne, castyng on him the tayles of "thornback or like fisshes, wherefor he besought Almyghty God to shewe "his jugement on them, and god sente to them a shameful token for the "children that were borne after in that place had tayles, as it is sayd, tyl "they had repented them. It is sayd comynly that thys fyl at Strode in "Kente; but blessyd be God at this day is no such deformyte."

The sigh of relief in the closing line is noteworthy as a positive statement on a point reckoned of considerable importance amongst the annalists, and one on which they were not all agreed. It decisively at the same time, by the very qualification it imports, betokens the reality and universality of the belief of even fifteenth century England in the actual existence—if not then, at least once upon a time—of the monstrous phenomenon.

A proverbial phrase the "Kentish Longtails"[2] probably gained currency at an early date, undoubtedly deducing its origin from this strange article in the popular creed; but it does not seem to have been traced as existing in literature until the sixteenth century. Drayton[3] made it in a sense the motto of Kent—

> Kent first in our account doth to itself apply
> Quoth he, the blazon first, Longtails and liberty.

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[1] The lyf of Saynt Austyn, Golden Legende, printed 1483, fol. clxxxiiii; see, too, Nova Legenda Angliæ (Capgrave) 1516, fol. xxx.

[2] Ray's Proverbs. Halliwell's Dictionary, voce *Longtails*.

[3] Polyolbion, song xxiii. For a supposed quotation from Peter Pindar,

> The Men of Strode are born with horses' tails,

see Notes and Queries, 4th series, vi. p. 370-1.

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9. *The oldest Scottish version*—circa 1440.

Scotland, as we have already seen, had heard of the tails, and her historians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries contain quite a respectable body of comment upon them. Walter Bower, Abbot of Inchcolm, devotes a large part of a chapter of the Scotichronicon[1] to the subject, following very closely the lines of the narrative as it had first appeared in Layamon. When Saint Augustine, he tells us,[2] began to proclaim the word of life to the heathen West Saxons in Dorsetshire, he came to a town where no one would receive him or listen to his preaching. The inhabitants would have none of him. They contradicted[3] everything and twisted by sinister interpretation all he said, and, horrible to relate, sewed fish tails to the great missionary's garments. "But," says our worthy informant always zealous for the honour of a Saint, "what they supposed they were doing to shame the "holy father came home to themselves and their posterity as an eternal "disgrace and a scandal to their unoffending country. For the Lord smote "them *in posteriora* to their everlasting ignominy so that not only on their "own but on their successors' persons similar tails grew ever after." Such tails, he adds, were called *mughel* in the mother tongue of the country, on which account the town in which the blessed Augustine was so insulted

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[1] The original Scotichronicon of Fordun, which Bower amplified and continued, does not contain the story. Neither does Wyntoun's Cronykil.

[2] Bower, ii. 138-9.

[3] Quod dictu quoque nefandum est caudas piscium in ejus vestibus suere et suspendere non timuerunt. Sed quod ipsi in Sancti patris injuriam facere crediderunt, sibi et suis posteris in dedecus sempiternum et innocenti patriæ verterunt in opprobrium. Nam percussit eos Deus in posteriora, opprobrium sempiternum dans illis ita ut in partibus pudendis tam in ipsis quam eorum successoribus, similes caudæ nascerentur. Vocatur autem hujusmodi cauda ab indigenis patriâ linguâ Mughel: unde et villa in qua beato Augustino hujusmodi irrogata est injuria nomen sortita est Muglington, id est villa Muglingorum, usque in præsentem diem. Fertur etiam quod eorum exemplo in provincia Merciorum in villa quæ Thamewyth dicitur beato viro ab incolis loci simile dedecus factum fuerit: sed non impune: quia tam ipsi quam eorum posteri sicut omnibus notum est pari pœna et opprobrio verecundati sunt. Simile postea accidit tempore exilii beati Thomæ primatis Angliæ quod ad ejus opprobrium, ut æstimabant, sed mentita est iniquitas sibi illi de Rocestria deturpaverunt, et absciderunt caudam caballi ejus: unde et posteri eorum illic nati inventi sunt caudati.

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took the name of Muglington,[1] and bears it until this day. Bower further mentions that the same indignity was done to the Saint by the inhabitants of Thamewyth in Mercia, but not unrevenged, because the same consequences befell. And he adds that long afterwards, in the time of the banishment of the blessed Thomas the Archbishop, the people of Rochester in Kent docked the tail of his horse for the purpose of disgracing the saint as they thought, but their iniquity deceived itself: they and their posterity born there thenceforth were found to possess tails.

A new feature appears here—a doubling of the tradition: it is the first we have heard of an association between the tails and St. Thomas Becket. That by this time both versions were current in England, I take to be indubitable. The worthy Abbot of Inchcolm was not a romancer who invented such things. He must have had earlier written authority before him when he wrote.

10. *Poetical Tail-pieces from Dunbar and Skelton.*

Leaving now for a little the arid paths along which the chroniclers travel, it will be a pleasant change for us to digress a while in the fields of verse—to part company with the historians and turn to the poets of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. They had a pleasant way in those days of saying things which sounded a great deal worse than the actual meaning they conveyed. Scottish poets being eminently human could not forget so good a hit at the Englishmen, and accordingly their works include a number of tail-pieces reminiscent of the subject. Dunbar, the national poet of the time, has one interesting allusion. In the Flyting with Kennedie, amongst the thousand and one unflattering similitudes with which he bespattered his rhyming adversary, he observed[2] that—

> he that dang Sanct Augustine with ane rumple
> Thy fowll front had.

The word rumple, meaning a tail, was taken up and used in a different

[1] This is so far as I have seen the earliest reference to such a place, and I have not been able to find any such place existing. There was of old a "Muglyngwyc" in Durham, which has become "Muggleswick." Notes and Queries, 8th series, vii. 449.

[2] Flyting, line 125; Dunbar's Poems (Scot. Text Soc.) ii. p. 15.

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connection by Kennedie in his reply. Not to be behindhand in allusions to classical points in the national history, Kennedie flung in the teeth of Dunbar a charge against the patriotism of one of his ancestors.[1]

Corspatrik that we of tressoun reid
Thy forefader, maid Irisch and Irischmen thin,
Throw his tressoun broght Inglise rumplis in.

Much more curious was the war of rhyme in two languages waged between John Skelton, the wit and poet of England during the first half of the reign of Henry VIII. on the one hand, and George Dundas,[2] at one time a professor in Aberdeen, on the other.

Skelton had crowed so unmercifully over the English victory at Flodden, and had exhausted himself in such base comparisons to the detriment of the Scots that Dundas commands our sympathy in inditing a reply. He evidently thought that as Achilles was vulnerable at the heel so was the Englishman at the tail, and he therefore directed his shafts to that delicate part.

Anglicus a tergo	[The Englishman behind
Caudam gerit;[3]	carries a tail:
Est canis ergo.	He is a dog therefore.
Anglice caudate	O tailed Englishman
Cape caudam	take care of your tail
Ne cadat a te	Lest it fall off:
Ex causa caudæ	because of the tail
Manet Anglica	The English nation
Gens sine laude.	remains without honour.]

[1] Flyting, line 350.

[2] Mr. Dyce's notes to Skelton's Works, iii. 186.

[3] Professor Wattenbach published (Anzeiger für Kunde der Deutschen Vorzeit, 1874, col. 214) a poem from a MS. in the Berlin Library beginning thus:—

Anglicus a tergo caudam gerit: est pecus ergo:
Cum tibi dicit ave, sicut ab hoste cave.

See Notes and Queries, vi. 493. Professor Wattenbach says he has not met anywhere else a similar mention of tailed Englishmen, and supposes that it might have originated in a peculiar way of dressing the hair among the Anglo Normans. On the same principle the French use the term *queue* for the pigtail. See note by Mons. H. Gaidoz in N. and Q. last reference. A couplet quoted by Bower (i. 221) has the same play upon the Ave as that in the Berlin MS.

Anglicus est angelus, cui nemo credere potest
Cum tibi dicit Ave, tanquam ab hoste cave.

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This was civility itself compared with the "Noble Poet Skelton's" reply, evincing a very pretty capacity for bilingual Billingsgate:—

Diffamas patriam qua non
est melior usquam.
Cum cauda plaudis dum
possis ad ostia pultas
Mendicans; mendicus eris
mendaxque bilinguis
Scabidus horribilis quem
vermes sexque pedales [1]
Corrodunt misere; miseris
genus est maledictum

[You defame a country
than which there no better anywhere.
With your tail you flatter
while you can, begging porridge
from door to door
You will always be a beggar
and a double tongued liar
A horrible scurvy rogue
whom worms a foot and a-half long
Miserably gnaw: your race
is accursed for its wretches.]

Skelton nobilis poeta.

Gup Scot ye blot
Laudate Caudate
Set in better
Thy pentameter.
This Dundas,
This Scottishe as,
He rymes and railes
That Englishmen have tailes
Skeltonus laureatus
Anglicus natus
Provocat musas
Contra Dundas
Norpacissimum [2] Scotum
Undique notum
Rusticè fotum
Vapidè potum

[Skelton laureate
Englishman born
Challenges the muses
Against Dundas
the back biting Scot
It is known everywhere
that home-brewed
is tasteless drink.]

Skelton Laureat
After this rate
Defendeth with his pen
All Englishmen
Agayn Dundas
The Scottish asse.
Shake thy tayle Scot like a cur,

---

[1] I suppose this is a corruption for *sesquipedales*, which appears to make rather better sense.

[2] This word being unintelligible I have supposed it may be a corruption of mordacissimum. Mr. Dyce's edition has *spurcissimum*.

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For thou beggest at every mannes dur.
Tut Scot I sey,
Go shake thy dog hey!
Dundas of Galawsy
With thy versyfyeng sayles
How they have tayles.

In these international metrical amenities one easily supposes that the tail is only a handle for a sarcastic pull, and that it is recognised on both sides as a poetic figment; but we shall find the historians of the period still continuing, with the gravity due to a phenomenon so remarkable, to regard it as at least a fact of the past, if not also of the present.

11. *From Major to Bellenden.*

John Major, a century later than Bower, by his variations from the other writers, imports elements of special curiosity. Worthy man as he was, it was not enough for him to make a mere record of abnormal facts. It was necessary to fit them into the scheme of the universe. He therefore sought to lift the question out of the region of simple marvel and place it on a scientific basis. Approaching it by a consideration of the general causes of peculiarities among men, he says that men's complexions in different parts of the earth are largely the product of climate; but that the deformed countenances of the Arctic peoples are not so—they are the result of the influence of the heavens. For the same reason it is, he says, that in parts of Africa men are born with the heads of dogs. Thus armed for his attack on the problem of origin of the tails of men, he proceeds from the general to the particular.

His story is that when Saint Augustine was preaching at Rochester[1] the rabble derisively threw fish-tails at the man of God, whereupon he prayed to the deity that henceforth the little children of that place might in punishment for that sin be born with tails, so that thus warned they might learn not to contemn the saints. "In consequence," says he, "as the English "annals tell, the little children were born with tails. This has very little to

[1] Historia, ii. cap. 9.

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"do with the influence of the heavens. And I do not think that at the "present time men are born there with tails, but that this punishment was "only inflicted for a time, so that the unbelieving race might give ear to the "learned man. Scottish and French writers say differently, but I do not "agree with them."

This critical attitude towards a historic question is characteristic of the period. Doubt and science were asserting themselves everywhere, although everywhere old credulity had left its trace. John Major was not disposed to disbelieve wholly, and, in spite of Frenchmen and Scots and the annals of the English themselves, he made a compromise. Not now but formerly had these children been born with tails. Even these he was willing to reduce to the utmost. Tails, they had been, to be sure, but not a permanent result of climate or of the influence of the stars, only a temporary expedient for hastening the good work in Kent. The compromise was cautious.

Hector Boece, with his fondness for the marvellous, might have been expected to be of a less sceptical frame of mind on the subject, but, singular to say, he appears to have quietly suppressed all mention of the matter; as did also William Stewart, his metrical translator. But Bellenden, who rendered his Latin into Scottish prose, and took considerable latitude not only by systematic curtailment but also by occasional interpolations, presents the adventure of Saint Augustine amongst the men of Dorsetshire in such a guise as to add to rather than detract from the marvel. "Finalie," says he, "quhen this haly man Sanct Austine wes precheand to the Saxons in "Miglinton thay wer nocht onlie rebelland to his precheing bot in his con-"temptioun thay sewit fische talis on his abilyement. Otheris alliegis thay "dang him with skait rumpillis. Nochtheles this derisioun succedit to thair "gret displesoure for God tuk on thaim sic vengeance that thay and thair "posterite had lang talis mony yeris eftir. In memorie heirof the barnis "that ar yit born in Miglintoun hes the samin deformite bot the wemen "havand experience thairof fleis out of this toun in the time of thair birth "and eschapis this malediction be that way."[1]

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[1] Bellenden's Boece, book ix. chap. 17.

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The final sentence is curious, and may be compared with the similar expedient referred to in an earlier chapter.[1] Even a saint could be juggled out of his curse.

12. *A practical joke, 1566.*

Though we have seen that in all these examples the tail never takes a concrete shape, there is on record one very singular example of its appearing as an actuality. At the baptism of James VI., on 17th December, 1566, quite a scandal was created by a Frenchman, who, either wilfully or inadvertently, considerably disturbed the equanimity of the English guests at the great banquet given in honour of the auspicious event of the day.[2]

"At the principall bankett ther fell out ane gret eylest and gruge amang "the Englis men: for a Frenchman callit Bastien devysed a nomber of men "formed lyk sattyres with lang tailes and whippis in ther handes runnyng "befoir the meit quhilk wes brocht throw the gret hall upon ane trym engyn "marching as apperit it alain with musiciens clothed lyk maidins playing "upon all sortis of instrumentis and singing of musick.

"Bot the sattiers wer not content only to red roun bot pat ther handis "behind them to ther tailes quhilkis thay waggit with ther handis in sic "sort as the Englismen supponit it had been devysed in derision of them "daftly apprehending that quhilk they suld not seam to have understand. "For Mester Hattoun Mester Ligniche and the maist part of the gentilmen "desyred to sowp before the Quen and gret banquet that they mycht se the "better the haill ordour and cerimonies of the triumphe; bot sa schone as "they saw the sattires waging their tales or romples they all set down upon the "bair flure behind the bak of the burd that they suld not see them selves "scornit as they thocht. Mester Hattoun said unto me gif it wer not in the "Quenis presens and hall he suld put a dagger to the hart of the Frenche "knaif Bastien whom he allegit did it for dispyt that the Quen maid mair "of them than of the Frenchemen."

Mr. Hatton, with his dagger, witnesses sufficiently how thin-skinned the English still were on the subject of the tails, and how the jibe galled.

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[1] Chapter 6.

[2] Sir James Melville's Memoirs (Maitland Club ed.), 171-2. Glasgow (3rd) edition, 1751, p. 150.

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13. *Polydore Vergil and John Bale, 1534-46.*

Polydore Vergil, in his history published in 1534,[1] adopted the Becket version of the legend, ignoring Augustine in that connexion altogether. He said that Becket came to Stroud on the Medway, near Rochester where the inhabitants, anxious to do him dishonour, did not hesitate to amputate the tail of his horse, thereby bringing upon themselves an everlasting shame; for by the will of God it happened that all the men springing from the family which wrought that villainy were born with tails like brute beasts. This mark of infamy had, however, according to Polydore, died out with the offending family. Given fresh and European vogue by an author so popular it acted as a whetstone for Continental wit, which made itself merry in Latin verse—a clumsy echo of Polydore's prose. Thus one writer who "suspected" that the attribution of tails to Englishmen was a figment nevertheless rounded off his account of them with what may, by a courtesy title, be called an epigram.[2]

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[1] Polydore Virgil, Anglicæ Historiæ, 1534, p. 214. Jam tum cœpit sic vulgo negligi, contemni, ac odio haberi, ut cum venisset aliquando Strodum, qui vicus situs est ad ripam Medueiæ fluminis, quod flumen Rocestriam alluit, ejus loci incolæ cupidi bonum patrem ita despectum ignominia aliqua afficiendi, non dubitarint amputare caudam equi, quem ille equitaret, seipsos perpetuo probro obligantes: nam postea, nutu Dei, ita accidit, ut omnes ex eo hominum genere, qui id facinus fecissent, nati sint instar brutorum animalium caudati. Sed ea infamiæ nota jampridem una cum gente illa eorum hominum, qui peccarint, deleta est.

[2] *Anglos quosdam caudatus esse.*

Suspicabar quod de Anglorum caudis traditur nugatorium esse nec hoc meminissem loco nisi ipsi Anglicarum rerum conditores id serio traderent: nasci videlicet homines instar brutorum animalium caudatos apud Strodum Angliæ vicum ad ripam fluvii Meducise qui Roffensem sive Rocestrensem agrum alluit. Narrantque ejus vici incolas jumento quod D. Thomas Canthuariensis episcopus insideret per ludibrium caudam amputasse ob idque divina ultione adnatas incolis ejus loci caudas: Percussit eos (inquit) in posteriora eorum opprobrium sempiternum dedit illis. De hujusmodi caudis quidam in hunc modum lusit:—

Fertur equo Thomæ caudam obtruncasse Britannos
Hinc Anglos caudas constat habere breves.

[It is said that the Britons cut off the tail of Thomas's horse. This is clearly the reason why they have short tails.]

Angliæ Descriptiones Compendium per Guilhelmum Paradinum Cuyselliensem, 1545, p. 69, quoted in Dyce's notes to Skelton, iii. 186-7.

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Between 1534 and 1546 a great many things happened. The English Reformation became a settled fact, and the reaction against Roman Catholicism was still at its height. John Bale—better known by that name than by his Irish title as Bishop of Ossory—served the Protestant cause manfully with vehement and virulent tongue and pen. In his "Actes "of Englysh Votaryes"[1] there are pungent comments upon our legend, and upon Polydore's version of it. "Johan Capgrave and Alexandre of Esseby "sayth that for castynge of fyshe tayles at thys Augustyne Dorsett shyre men "had tayles ever after. But Polydorus applyeth yt unto Kentysh men at "Stroude by Rochestre for cuttynge of Thomas Beckettes horses tayle. Thus "hath England in all other landes a perpetual dyffamy of tayles by their "wrytten legendes of lyes, yet can they not wele tell where to bestowe them "trulye."

Further on in his declamation against the Romanists, Bale say that they "in the legendes of their sanctifyed sorcerers diffamed the Englyshe "posteryte with tayles as I have shewed afore. That an Englyshman "now can not travayle in an other lande by waye of merchandyce or anye "other honest occupyenge but yt ys most contumelyouslye throwne in his "tethe that all Englyshmen have tayles. That uncomlye note and "report have the nacyon gotten without recover by these laysye and "idell lubbers the munkes and the priestes whiche coude fynde no "matters to advance their canonyzed Cayns by or their Sayntes (as they call "them) but manyfest lyes and knaveryes."

Called Startsmen.[2]

It needed the Reformation to bring men's minds to the point of flat denial of the legend. Men had "suspected" it before; John Bale was the first to give it the lie direct.

14. *A Kentishman's criticisms, 1570.*

John Bale's objurgations, violent though they were, were not so directly personal as those of William Lambarde, of Lincoln's Inn, gent., making him-

[1] Edition 1546, pp. 29-30, 76-77. I have used the copy in the Glasgow University Library. The passages are quoted by Mr. S. Baring-Gould in his Curious Myths of the Middle Ages, ed. 1881, p. 147-8.

[2] Startsmen, men with tails: from A.S. steort a tail.

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self the mouthpiece of the indignation of the county whose historian he was. The symmetry of Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent, written in 1570 and published in 1576, might be a little disturbed, but its piquancy was decidedly heightened by the discussion of the matter. He had just begun to describe the manor of Stroud when the tails came up for consideration, with the result that the honest antiquary forgot about Stroud altogether, and wrote an indignant diatribe in defence of the injured honour of the county of Kent.

The story of the tails, no doubt, he said, was "as true as Ovides historie "of Diana whome hee feigneth in great furie to have bestowed upon Actæon "a Deeres head with mightie brow Anthlers." Polydore, he said, "might "well have spared to magnifie Becket with this lie so farre off for the time, "so incredible for the matter, and so slaunderous for the men." The "Westernmen"—meaning thereby the people of Dorsetshire—might therefore "thinke themselves pleasured by Polydore who taking (as you see) "the miracle from Augustine applieth it to Becket and so (removing the "infamous revenge from them) laieth it upon our men of Kent. But I "dare pronounce that Dorsetshyre, Kent and each other part of the realme "is little beholden to Alexander [of Essebye[1]] and the rest, but least of all "to Polydore, who have amongst them brought to passe that as Kentish men "be heere at home merily mocked, so the whole English nation is in foreine "countries abroad earnestly flowted with this dishonourable note, in so much "that many beleeve as verily that we be monsters and have tailes by nature, "as other men have their due partes and members in usuall manner."

After a complaint that Polydore ought to have "brought his Talesman "with him" to vouch his narration, Lambarde proceeds with swelling indignation to compare Polydore's version with those of other writers, alleging that that writer had gone beyond the tale as he found it. Polydore could not be content to copy, says he, "but he must needes lash out further "and contend to outly the lowdest Legendaries." And he endeavours to shew that Polydore must be attainted of lying by five witnesses.

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[1] See Chap. 8 above.

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"Neverthelesse," says he in a whimsical parenthesis in his invective, "for "mine owne part I thinke for all this that he hath saide well in telling us "that the posteritie borne of such as curtailed S. Thomas horse were after-"warde plagued with tailes for it. And this forsooth may be the mysterie. "It is commonly saide, and not without good cause believed, that Maidens "children and Bachelors wives bee ever well taught and nurtured: and no "marveile for neither hath the one sort any children, nor the other any "wives at all. After the very same figure and phrase may Polydore's "speech be verified also. For (as you see well) Brock alone did this great "acte, who (being one of the clergie[1]) could have no wife and then (if he "lived without a concubine) he coulde leave none issue behind him; and "so Polydore might safely say that all they which came of him had not "onely tailes like beastes, but also feete like fowles, scales like fishes, or "whatsoever other unkindly partes that might make up a fit picture for "Horace and his friends to be merrie withall. But (in earnest)," he adds with a sudden turn, "I doe not thinke that he meant thus." Lambarde always detected the popish hand under the glove. "As the proverbe is," he says, "*Cauda de vulpe testatur*, the taile is enough to bewray the foxe, "And his woordes (*Bonum patrem* the good father) do evidently shew that "he would not sticke to straine a point, so that he might glorifie Saint "Thomas thereby." In short, tails or no tails, Polydore was to be read of the wiser sort with great wariness, "for, as he was by office collectour "of the Peter pence to the Popes gaine and lucre: So sheweth he himselfe "thorowout by practise a covetous gatherer of lying Fables."

This piercing and bitter criticism of Polydore must, so far as regards the Kentish Longtails, be set down as unjust. Polydore had fair precedent for all he said. No single feature of the story as told by him was of his inventing. Lambarde, it must be owned, gets very lamely out of it. His main anxiety was to purify the renown of Kent, albeit at the expense of the Westernmen of Dorsetshire. If he failed it was no fault of his: the dead weight of old tradition was too heavy against him.

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[1] Lambarde was in error here.

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15. *Some seventeenth century literature.*

The note of disbelief first struck by Bale in 1546 was repeated with additional force by Fuller.[1]

"Witnesse how when the Villagers in Dorsetshire beat Augustine and "his Fellows and in mockery fastened Fish tailes at their Backs in punish-"ment hereof *All that*[2] *Generation had that given them by Nature which* "*so contemptibly they fastened on the Backs of these Holy men.* Fy for shame! "he needs an hard Plate[3] on his Face that reports it and a soft Place in "his Head that believes it."

In another place to be touched on presently he discussed the origin of the aspersion, and sought to rationalise and explain it. There was, however, still a firm body of belief in the human tail. Most noteworthy amongst those who adhered to the faith was John Bulwer, whose curious volume entitled *Anthropometamorphosis*,[4] published in 1653, discussed the matter at some length, and adduced an astounding modern instance in support of his opinion that the belief in men's tails was not to be lightly set aside. Pausanias had said there were tailed nations, and Bulwer dimly knew of the tradition of Kent, and had heard that there survived in that county a family, taking its surname from a village near Rochester, all descendants of which had tails, in so much that one could know their descent by their tails. Those appendages had been entailed—the word is Bulwer's—as a curse upon the inhabitants of Stroud by Thomas Becket, the tail of whose horse had been wantonly cut off by them. In the alleged possession of tails by these people Bulwer saw nothing unreasonable. "And "to make it a little more credible" he said "that the rump bone among "brutish and strong-dockt nations doth often spread out with such an "excrescence or beastly emanation, I am informed by an honest young "man of Captain Morris's company in Lieutenant-General Ireton's company,

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[1] Church History of Britain endeavoured by Thomas Fuller, 1655, p. 67.

[2] Quotation from the *Flores Sanctorum*, life of Augustine, pp. 515-6.

[3] *Sic* probably a misprint for Place.

[4] A notice of this book appears in the *Retrospective Review* (1828), xvi. 213-4, from which the following particulars and extracts are taken. I owe this reference to the kindness of Dr. David Murray.

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"that at Cashell in the County of Tipperary in the province of Munster "in Carrick Patrick church, seated on a hill or rock, stormed by the Lord "Inchequine,[1] and where were neare 700 put to the sword and none saved "but the Mayor's wife and his son, there were found among the slain of "the Irish, when they were stript, divers with tailes neare a quarter of a "yard long. The relator being very diffident of the truth of this story "after enquiry was ensured of the certainty thereof by forty souldiers, that "testified upon their oaths that they were eye witnesses, being present at "the action."

Backed by the oath of forty of Cromwell's troopers what wonder that Bulwer accepted the tails as a human fact? And he had evidence of still higher scientific weight, that, namely, of the "Coryphœus of anatomy," Dr. Harvey, best known to us as the discoverer of the circulation of the blood. Harvey, in his book *De Generatione*, had cited the evidence of a surgeon from the East Indies, that in Borneo "there is a certaine kind of tailed "men, of which with some difficulty (for they inhabit the woods) they took "a virgin, whom he saw, with a thick fleshy taile of a span long."

In the poetry of the seventeenth century there are a few scattered allusions of no great moment. The Musarum Deliciae[2] of Sir. John Mennis has an unseemly and foolish passage on the subject. In Hudibras[3] there is some play on it. Andrew Marvel, in his "Loyal Scot,"[4] thus illustrates the seriousness of a Bishop's wrath.

> Never shall Calvin pardoned be for sales;
> Never for Burnet's sake, the Lauderdales;
> For Becket's sake Kent always shall have tails.

16. *Explanations other than the traditional.*

The traditional explanation of the tails is a single consistent story, although it has two variant types, the one connecting it with Augustine, the other with Becket. At bottom the two are the same, the difference

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[1] 24th November, 1649. See Carlyle's Cromwell, letter 116, "Before Waterford."

[2] Hotten's reprint, i. 25.

[3] Hudibras, part ii. cantos 1 and 3 (Murray's reprint of 1744, ed. 1869, pp. 140, 194, 197).

[4] Marvel (Murray's reprint), p. 91.

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as to which Archbishop was concerned being immaterial. The story, being told by Wace, is without question older than Becket. The traditional origin, therefore, must be sought in the legend of Augustine. The earlier authors are consistent in referring it to him. It is not till the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that the Becket variant emerges. And it is not until the seventeenth century that we hear of any alternative explanation in the direction of an attempt to rationalize the origin. Fuller, whose observations on the legend in his Church History have already been cited, returned to the subject in his *Worthies*,[1] and endeavoured to explain the epithet "longtailed" by saying that "some will have the English so called from wearing a pouch "or poake (a bag to carry their baggage in) behind their backs, whilest "probably the proud Monsieurs had their lacquies for that purpose." He was, for his own part, of opinion that the French were the founders of this aspersion, although regarding its precise origin he was far from dogmatic. "If any will have the Kentish so called," he says, referring to the epithet Longtails applied to the men of Kent, "from dragging and drawing boughs "of trees behind them, which afterwards they advanced above their heads, "and so partly cozened, partly threatened, King William the Conquerer to "continue their ancient customes,[2] I say if any will impute it to this original "I will not oppose."

Fynes Moryson in 1617 broke new ground with a suggestion the whimsical irrelevancy of which makes it difficult to follow and impossible to accept.[3] "The Kentish men of old were said to have tayles because," "trafficking in the Low-Countries they never paid full payments of what "they did owe but still left some part unpaid."

Du Cange, with the frankness characteristic of a great scholar who could afford sometimes to be not quite sure, owned his uncertainty, but hinted that possibly the English got their nickname from the tails of their shoes,[4]

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[1] Fuller's *Worthies* (Kent) edition, 1662, p. 63; cited in Mr. Dyce's notes to *Skelton's Works*, iii. 186-8.

[2] An allusion to the well-known story—scouted by Mr. Freeman (iii. 539)—chronicled by William Thorn. Decem Scriptores, 1786.

[3] Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*, 1617, iii. 53.

[4] Propter caudas calceorum quibus si præ ceteris nationibus delectabantur; sed haec modo non omnino mens arridet. *Du Cange* voce caudatus.

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those prolongations of the toes which at one time were so remarkable a feature in the dress of the middle ages. And he made two alternative suggestions besides, that it perhaps meant foppish,[1] or cowardly.[2]

There is a modern tendency to attempt to explain away the epithet altogether, to refine it into a metaphor. Professor Wattenbach's suggestion to regard *caudatus* as a figurative offshoot of *queue* may be remembered. But an explanatory hypothesis, apparently more in favour, takes another line. As coward,—supposed to come from *coue* (Old French for a tail), and to mean radically one with his tail between his legs,—is derived from the Latin *cauda*, so by a parallel process *caudatus* has been thought to mean rather "cowed" than "tailed." One learned glossarist[3] has thus accounted for it, observing that this sense arose "probably from the fact of frightened "animals dropping the tail in fear or turning tail in flight." These various suggestions call for critical examination.

17. *Suggested origins discussed.*

I. It will be well to eliminate suggestions found to be entirely without corroboration in the examples of the living epithet collected above. Thus the facts furnish no indications to support the contentions

(1) that *caudatus* ever had any connection with shoes;
(2) that it ever had the significance of foppish;
(3) that it related to a baggage satchel behind the back;
(4) that it had any connection with the boughs carried by Kentishmen when they met William the Conqueror;
(5) that it had any connection with half-paid bills in the Low Countries;
(6) that it had any reference to a peculiar way of dressing the hair, or to that fruitful subject of satire, the long skirts of the ladies—the "syde-taillis" of Sir David Lindsay's poem.

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[1] Quid si ut nitidulos et comptos sugillarint?

[2] Videntur Caudati appellati voce tunc recepta qua timidos et pusillanimes.

[3] H. T. Riley's glossary to *Rishanger's Chronica*, Rolls Series. The same line of reasoning is adopted by Mr. T. A. Archer in The Crusade of Richard I., p. 26, and by Dr. F. Chance in Notes and Queries, 7th series, vii. 349.

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These six hypotheses may with all safety be refused further hearing. A plain tail puts them down.

II. This leaves but two alternatives. Was *caudatus* a word really denoting and meant to denote tailed?

Or, was it merely a word meaning coward, a metaphor taken from the tail of a cowed dog?

In other words, whether did the epithet spring from the tail or the tail from the epithet?

Anthropologists and philologists will note that this raises precisely the issue so long and keenly fought between rival schools of thought in regard to the origin of myths. The "disease of language" school is represented in the proposition that men started a theory of tails to account for a word *caudatus* which they had ceased to understand. Perhaps the anthropological school is represented in the opposite view, that the epithet arose because the tails were believed to exist.

In corroboration of the doctrine already sufficiently established in these pages that such a belief was easy, there is no need to appeal to the general mediæval faith in the miraculous, it is only necessary to refer to Mr. Baring Gould's brief but entertaining disquisition[1] on Tailed Men, bristling with proofs from all ages and from all parts of the earth—proofs to which much more[2] might be added. Mr. Baring Gould himself as a child was taught by his Devonshire nurse that all Cornishmen were born with tails, and he remained in that faith until he had cross-examined a native of Cornwall on the subject.

It is scarcely needful to cite Lord Monboddo's strong opinion[3] that the existence of tailed men was so well vouched "that we cannot disbelieve it "or even doubt of it without rejecting all human testimony and resolving

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[1] In his Curious Myths of the Middle Ages.

[2] For example, Mr. W. G. Black refers me to Tyson's curious essay on the Pigmies of the Ancients recently reprinted, by D. Nutt, 1894. See also Notes and Queries, 7th series, vii. 350, viii. 355. Daily papers of this date (20 October, 1895,) announce a Frenchman's discovery of a tailed man in Africa!

[3] Origin and Progress of Language, 2nd ed., vol. 1, book ii., cap. iii., p. 257. N. and Q., 7th series, vii. 433.

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"to believe nothing but what we have seen." Perhaps, in view of the theory of Darwin—himself a man of Kent, the home of the legendary tails—the old opinion must not be dealt with too harshly. When contrasted with modern speculations regarding the probable arboreal ancestry of man, the worst that can be said of the legend-mongers and of Lord Monboddo is that they were somewhat pre-scientific. However that might be, enough has been said to serve the present purpose of demonstrating that in the dark ages such a belief was entirely reasonable according to the current standards.

With that fact clearly in our minds we can approach the questions with which this sub-section began.

III. The evidence at once clarifies the problem. The epithet *caudatus* is first recorded in 1190. Then, as subsequently, it was reserved for Englishmen. Englishmen never applied it to foreigners—a fact of very high importance. And it is more important still to observe that long before 1190 there was already current in English chronicle a story investing certain Englishmen with actual tails. In 1190 it is quite certain that the epithet was no pun.

There is not one instance to establish the proposition that the radical essential meaning of *caudatus* was *coward*. It certainly was not so at first, and if it decisively was so at any time the proofs are still to seek. The two passages most likely to be relied upon as proofs are those from Matthew Paris and John Oxenedes.[1] But to speak of the cowardice of *caudati*, or to talk of a fugitive as *caudatus*, full of guile, and unstable, is not to say that *caudatus* means a coward.

If it ever had that meaning, were there no caitiffs but Englishmen to whom to apply it? Was there amongst them such a depth of poltroonery that a special epithet was required so inapplicable to the cowards of other nations as never to be used to them? This is the fatal flaw in the rationalised modern conception of the origin of the epithet—the attempt to wriggle out of the tail. If *caudatus* meant coward it must have been a generic term; but, so far as can be gathered from the many examples, it never was a generic term—it was thirled to Englishmen.

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[1] Quoted in Chapter 4, above.

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It would be absurd to think that what we have seen attested as an existing natural phenomenon in the sixteenth century by the Corypheus of Anatomy, and the affidavit of forty Puritan dragoons, would stick in the throats and prove too much for the credence of the eighth to the twelfth centuries. Originating how it might—and for that there is simply no evidence to go upon[1]—there was in the twelfth century a clear belief in England that, as a consequence of Augustine's curse, certain southern Englishmen had been miraculously stricken, for themselves and their posterity, with tails. What was believed in England by Englishmen about Englishmen, and is perhaps not yet wholly disbelieved[2] as an existing fact, might well be adopted without question on the continent—qualifications of places and person being naturally left out of account, and the broad proposition gaining currency that Englishmen had tails. This is the actual course which, according to late twelfth century chronicle, events took. The present unprofitable compilation therefore, which Lambarde might perhaps have stigmatised as a covetous gathering of lying fables, is a contribution to the history not of a mistaken metaphor but of a vagary, neither unintelligible nor unique, in popular belief.

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[1] There are no indications of the existence of a village called Muglington, the mention of which does not emerge until the fifteenth century. Had it been otherwise it would have seemed not impossible to account for the tail story as a legend called into being to explain the place-name by a mistaken etymology.

[2] See Notes and Queries, 7th series vi. 347, vii. 212, viii. 36.

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No. XXX.

ANNUAL EXCURSION OF THE SOCIETY FOR 1894.

THE Excursion took place on Tuesday, 4th September, the day's programme including the ruins of Inchcolm Abbey in the Firth of Forth, Aberdour Castle, and Donibristle, Fifeshire. Among those present were George Neilson, F.S.A. Scot., James Caldwell, F.S.A. Scot., P. Macgregor Chalmers, F.S.A. Scot., George R. Mather, M.D., Colonel Stirling of Gargunnock, Alexander Drew, J. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., Hon. Secretary, William George Black, F.S.A. Scot., Hon. Secretary, John Mann, C.A., A. B. Dick-Cleland of Ravenswood, Councillor Maclay, John Wilson of Craigmount, Thomas Kincaid, Walter E. Wingate, Z. George Heys, D. S. Miller, Walter Easton, the Rev. Alexander Robertson, the Rev. Biot Edmonstone, Archibald Brownlie of Monkcastle, John Edwards, Charles E. Lindsay, James Bell, George R. Roxburgh, Hew Mackenzie, W. Anderson Baillie, John Annan, J. W. Ruddock, John Aitken, James A. Duncan, T. B. Fotheringham, &c. Leaving Queen Street Station at 9 a.m., the party, on arriving at South Queensferry, was conveyed in a steam launch to the Island of Inchcolm. On landing the members were received by Mr. P. Hill Normand of Whitehill, Commissioner to the Earl of Morton, and the Rev. R. J. Craig, minister of Dalgety, who throughout the day gave the Society the benefit of their courteous and efficient guidance, and to whom much of the success of the Excursion was due. Assembling under the shelter of the monastic ruins, a paper on the antiquities of the Island was read by Mr. J. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A. Lond. and Scot., Hon. Secretary, as follows:—

Around the little Island of Inchcolm many interesting historical memories cluster. Anciently called Aemonia or Emona it was, if we are to believe the Cupar manuscript of the *Scotichronicon*, a residence of St. Columba while he was conducting his missionary enterprise in the surrounding district, but as the manuscript only dates from the fifteenth century and the other versions of the chronicle are silent upon the subject, we cannot say that there is much

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historical foundation for the statement. It is, however, far from being beyond the reach of probability that the island was actually visited by the great Celtic apostle. We know the fondness of the early Christian missionaries for islands as residences. Columba himself constituted the distant Isle of Iona his headquarters; St. Adamnan, his biographer, was for a time resident on the Island of Inchkeith. St. Cuthbert lived for years in one of the Farne Islands, St. Herbert on an island in Derwentwater; and as Inchcolm, from its situation almost midway between Fife and the Lothians, must have been in the very centre of the most important part of Scotland, it is not at all unlikely that the feet of the founder of Scottish Christianity have hallowed its shores. Be that as it may, at a very early period the island received the name of Inchcolm or Island of Columba—the only island in the east of Scotland so named, though along the west coast there are several besides Iona, for example—St. Colm's Island in Loch Erisort, St. Colme's Isle off the shores of the Lews, the island of Columkill at the head of Loch Arkaig, and Eilean Colm in the parish of Tongue. Moreover, from very early times we know that Inchcolm was looked on as a place of peculiar sanctity. This is shewn by the request which, if we are to believe Hector Boece, was addressed by the Danes to the victorious Scottish army after the battle of Kinghorn, viz., that they should be allowed the privilege of burying their dead in the island, a boon which was only granted on condition of the payment of a considerable sum of money. The transaction is referred to by Shakspeare in the tragedy of Macbeth (founded as is well known upon the narrative in Holinshed's translation of Boece, published in 1577) when he makes Rosse, after reporting the successful issue of the contest, state that

> Sueno, the Norway's king, craves composition,
> Nor would we deign him burial of his men,
> Till he disbursed at St. Colme's Inch
> Ten thousand dollars to our general use.

This would indubitably point to a probability that the soil of the island was held specially sacred, for otherwise the slain Norsemen would have been buried where they fell, and the labour of conveying them across the waters of the firth would not have been undertaken. A sculptured stone still to be seen in the island has been supposed to be a monument to one of the Danish chieftains. In William Stewart's metrical version of Boece, executed in 1535

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a reference occurs which would point to the former existence of a memorial cross as well as the stone, both of which the translator states he had actually beheld—

> As I myself quhilk hes bene thair and sene
> Ane croce of stone thair standis on ane grene,
> Middis the field quhair that tha lay ilk one
> Besyde the croce thair lyis ane greit stone.
> Under the stone in middis of the plane
> Thair chieftain lyis quhilk in the field was slane.

Sir Robert Sibbald in his *History of Fife* makes no mention of the cross, but describes the stone as "made like a coffin, and very fierce and grim faces "are drawn at both the ends of it." Pennant also states that at each end was the representation of a human head. Grose, who visited the island in 1789, found the stone moved from its original position, and so much defaced that it was very difficult to make out any sculpture. It is figured as an illustration to Sir James Simpson's paper, to which I shall refer later, read before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in July, 1857; and Sir James remarks that, in its then condition, the monument had more the appearance of a recumbent human figure with a head at one end and the feet at the other, than with a human head at either extremity.

I now come to the period when a monastic foundation was first established on the island. The story of its erection is told with much picturesqueness by Bower, the continuator of Fordoun's *Scotichronicon*, and himself latterly abbot of the monastery. According to it the event took place in 1123, in which year Alexander I., crossing to Fife at Queensferry, was overtaken by a storm and driven down the frith in the vicinity of Inchcolm. In peril of his life, the tempest-tossed monarch made a vow to St. Columba that if he escaped the fury of the waves he would, in gratitude, erect a monastery on the island. By good fortune the king and his suite succeeded in landing safely on the shores of Inchcolm, where they were hospitably received by a hermit living on the island, content with such poor food as shellfish and the milk of one cow. They remained storm-stayed for three days, during which period they shared the slender stores of their host.

There still stands in the old garden of the abbey a small stone-roofed building which Sir James Simpson has, with much plausibility, endeavoured to prove to be the very cell or oratory of the hermit who entertained

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Alexander. The building, although somewhat irregular in shape, is almost a quadrangle. Originally, the interior has been about sixteen feet in length and five feet broad, while the height from the vaulted roof to the present floor is nearly eight feet. In the interior of the south wall is a small recess, and further west is the entrance doorway which is five feet high and about four feet wide, with an arched top. From it a built way, or passage, led to the well of the island. The eastern gable contains a small window splayed internally. The walls are about three feet in thickness, the stones being, with a few exceptions, all squared sandstone. The lime used contains oyster and other sea-shells, and is very hard. Originally, the building has been plastered internally. The vaulted roof is constructed on the principle of the radiated arch—a form of roof still seen in some early Irish oratories and churches. Over this is placed a thin layer of lime and small stones, and the roof is finished by being covered with a layer of oblong and rhomboid stones. The keystone of the roof vault is in the form of a triangular wedge or V. In all its architectural features the edifice corresponds with the cells or oratories erected from the sixth to the twelfth centuries in several parts of Ireland. Sir J. Simpson's theory received the approval of such eminent authorities as Dr. Petrie of Dublin and Mr. Joseph Robertson, and, as I have said, has much to support it. As to the improbability of the building having survived for so lengthened a period, Sir J. Simpson points out that, according to Dr. Petrie, St. Columba's house at Kells and St. Kevin's house at Glendalough—buildings constructed towards the end of the sixth century—were really erected by the persons whose names they bear. They have been preserved in consequence of the veneration in which they were held, and Sir J. Simpson contends that the little oratory in Inchcolm, not only from its having been the dwelling of a holy person like the hermit, but also the temporary residence of a popular king like Alexander I., would be similarly protected. The interesting little building when first seen by Sir James was in use as a pig-sty.

But to return to the erection of the monastery. Alexander I., according to Fourdoun, was "*in construendis ecclesiis studiosissimus*," and therefore it was quite in accordance with his character that his gratitude for his escape should express itself in a ready fulfilment of the vow he had made. If, however, his

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compulsory visit to Inchcolm took place in 1123, and we have no reason to disbelieve the chronicle, he cannot have more than begun the work, for he died in the following year; and the burden of carrying out the project must have descended on the shoulders of his brother and successor, David, that "sair sanct to the Crown." To him, however, the task proved thoroughly congenial, and we have proof that he took in it a warm and active interest in the fact that he made over to Gregory, bishop of Dunkeld (in which diocese Inchcolm was situated) various lands, to be held by him for behoof of the monastery. It is quite possible that part of the domestic buildings surrounding the cloister-court may date from this period, though from their rigid simplicity and want of architectural detail they do not in themselves afford proof of the fact.

It was the policy of Queen Margaret and her sons to clear away the early Columbite foundations, and substitute for them monastic communities which more directly acknowledged the sway of the Papacy, and accordingly Alexander established in Inchcolm the Order of Canons Regular of St. Augustine. He seems to have regarded this Order with peculiar favour, having previously established it at Scone by a colony from St. Oswald's Priory at Nostell in Yorkshire. The Austin Canons were first founded in the eighth century as a protest against the laxity which had crept into the existing monastic communities, but after a time the order languished and fell into disfavour. In the eleventh century it was reformed according to a rule prepared by Ivo, bishop of Chartres, and thereafter became a powerful organisation, spreading its branches all over Western Europe. Canons Regulars stood midway between the ordinary monastic orders and the secular clergy. Dwelling together and eating at a common table, they were not absolutely shut up in a cloister, but were allowed to perform the functions of parochial clergy. Their habit was a long black gown, with a white rochet above it, while over all was worn a black cloak and hood. The Order enjoyed considerable popularity in Scotland, and had twenty-eight abbeys and priories in various parts of the kingdom. Among the principal of these may be mentioned (in addition to Scone), St. Andrews, Jedburgh, Cambuskenneth, Holyrood, Blantyre, Isle of May, Inchmahome, Oronsay, Inchaffray, and Restennet.

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The foundation of the Priory of Inchcolm (for it did not become an abbey till 1233) was confirmed by a Bull of Pope Alexander III., dated 11th March, 1178, a document which has been preserved. The possessions of the Priory at the time are mentioned in it, and seem to have been of considerable extent, including churches and estates in different districts of Fife and the Lothians. Additional benefactions were received from various sources, for we incidentally learn that Alan de Mortimer, Lord of Aberdour, purchased the right of interment in the church of Inchcolm by a grant of half of his town lands—a right which, in the case of the generous donor, was never exercised; for in carrying his body in a lead coffin to the island for burial, the monks in charge (let us hope only under absolute necessity from stress of weather) made jettison of the corpse, whence (according to Sir Robert Sibbald) part of the firth was called "Mortimer's deep" So prosperous eventually did the canons of Inchcolm become that the original church became too small, and a new church was erected. The choir was built in 1265 (if we are to believe the Scotia Sacra of Father Augustine Hay) at the expense of Richard, bishop of Dunkeld; and Billings states that the style of architecture, though it might be later, does not disagree with the date. The chapter-house and the tower were probably erected about the same period. Those who constructed the buildings evidently hoped that their work would stand to all time, for they placed the following inscription over the door of the church:—

> "*Stet domus haec donec fluctus formica marinos*
> *Ebibat et totum testudo perambulat orbem.*"

thus translated by Dr. Ross—

> "Still may these turrets lift their heads on high,
> Nor e'er as crumbling ruins strew the ground,
> Until an ant shall drink the ocean dry
> And a slow tortoise travel the world round." [1]

But many disastrous episodes were in store for the abbey. In 1335 the

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[1] A translation of the Latin distich into French was inscribed over the door of the Abbey Church of St. Maurice near Quimpèrlé in Brittany—

Cette maison durera jusq' à ce que la fourmi ait bu la mer et que la tortue ait fait le tour du monde.

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English fleet made a descent on Inchcolm—and despite the fact that, according to the metrical translation of Boece, it was

> "Of religion haldin aye the rois,
> As the charbokill of all stonis the chois"—

pillaged it and carried away much valuable property, including a venerated image of St. Columba. The latter offence, however, nearly proved their undoing, for the outraged saint visited them with so terrible a storm that, seeing their error, they fell on their knees and vowed that if preserved from their peril they would return their ill-gotten spoil; whereupon we are told "incontinent with that the stour did cease."

The lesson did not, however, bear much fruit, and in the following year the abbey was again "spuilziet," and much booty, including a carved wainscot, carried off. It was not, however, carried far, for hardly had the buccaneers left the island than their vessel went down like a stone and they all perished.

In 1384 the church was again put in great peril by another visit of the English fleet, when, after plundering the monastery, the invaders tried to set fire to the sacred edifice. But Columba a third time graciously interposed and, changing the direction of the wind, blew back and extinguished the flames.

In 1402 an addition was made to the church by the erection of a chapel, dedicated to the Virgin, on the south side of the choir.

The subsequent annals of the abbey are devoid of any stirring incidents. When the troubles of the Reformation spread over the land it shared the fate of its richer and more influential sisters, being dissolved in 1543, when Richard Abercromby, the last of the abbots, surrendered his office.

The long list of his predecessors during the 400 years of the existence of the monastery offers no names of interest, with the exception of that of Walter Bower, who was chosen to preside over the community in 1418. A native of Haddington, he had been principally educated in France, and must have been a man of much ability. He was one of the commissioners appointed to collect the ransom of James I., and was employed on other occasions in important affairs of State. To him we owe the continuation of Fordoun's *Scotichronicon*, an invaluable piece of work. Fordoun had only completed five books of his history, bringing it down to the death of David I. Bower

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not only wrote the remaining eleven books, bringing it down to the death of James I., but added largely to the earlier part. He says himself—

> "*Quinque libros Fordoun undecim auctor arabat,*
> *Sic tibi clarescit sunt sedecim numero.*"

Mr. Arnold suggests that the muniment room over the chapter-house was erected by Abbot Bower, and that in it he probably spent much of his time either in writing his history or arranging the charters and other documents of the monastery.

Of the ordinary members of the brotherhood the only outstanding figure is Thomas Forret, one of the early sufferers in the cause of the doctrines which eventually triumphed at the Reformation. He was executed on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh on 28th February, 1538.

During the existence of the monastery it seems, on several occasions, to have been used as a State prison. We know that in the reign of James I., Euphemia, daughter of the Earl of Ross and mother of Alexander, Lord of the Isles (described by Drummond of Hawthornden as "a mannish, implac-"able woman") was placed in duress within its walls. At a later period Patrick Graham, Archbishop of St. Andrews,—a man before his time—who for pointing out and protesting against the corruption and the abuses which had crept into the ecclesiastical fabric, had been convicted of heresy, was imprisoned in the island under the care of four keepers. He was subsequently removed to Dunfermline, and finally to Lochleven, where he died.

There is not a great deal to tell in regard to the later history of the island.

After the expulsion of the monks Sir James Stewart became Commendator of Inchcolm, and into his hands passed the lands of the abbey in the counties of Edinburgh, Fife, Linlithgow, and Perth. His son, James Lord Doune, succeeded him. The latter, probably from the fact that his elder son, James, who marrying Lady Elizabeth Stewart, the elder daughter of the Regent Moray, had become Earl of Moray and had thus been well provided for, made over to his younger son, Henry, Inchcolm and the other estates of the abbey. Henry was created a peer under the title of Lord St. Colme on, 7th March, 1611, and dying in the following year was succeeded by his son, James, on whose death, without issue, the peerage and estates passed to his cousin,

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James, second Earl of Moray, in the possession of whose descendents they have since remained.

In 1547, after the battle of Pinkie, the Duke of Somerset seized the island as a post commanding the whole firth. Patin, the historian of the expedition, is exceedingly facetious in his description of the taking possession. "Sir "John Luttrell, Knight, having bene by my Lord's Grace and the Counsell "elect abbot by God's suffraunce of the Monastery of St. Come's Isle ". . . . . departed towards the island to be stalled in his see thair "accordingly, and had with him a convent of C. hakbutters and L. pioners to "keep his house and land thear . . . . . whereby it is thought he shall "soon become a prelate of grate power."

During the epidemics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the island was several times used as a lazaretto and place of quarantine.

At the beginning of the present century it became the site of a fort, and later it was employed as a hospital by a Russian fleet lying in the Forth.

The many vicissitudes through which the island has passed have necessarily resulted in serious interference with the abbey buildings, but, on the whole, we have reason to be thankful that so considerable a portion of them has escaped the hands of the destroyer.

They were arranged on the usual monastic plan. The church stood east and west, with a cloister-court on the south. A small transept projected from the north side, but there was no corresponding projection to the south. The nave is extremely small, being only about twenty-six feet in length by fifteen feet six inches broad, and is a plain vaulted chamber. The choir is unhappily a complete ruin, but must have been of considerable length, as remains of a door or window-jamb can be traced near the east wall of the Lady Chapel, a distance of seventy feet. The disproportionate size of the nave and choir is explained by Mr. Arnold to be due to the fact that in Inchcolm there could be no congregation of any size, and a choir sufficiently large to accommodate the brethren was all that was needed. The choir was like the nave, very narrow, and had a plain pointed vault, over which rose a high pitched roof. The Lady Chapel opened from the south side of the choir and had a semi-circular stone vault, the greater part of which has fallen, leaving the remainder hanging together by the strength of the cement.

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The tower, twenty feet six inches square, is four storeys in height and is finished at the top by a plain corbelled parapet.

Over the tower, nave and transept, were upper rooms, forming a suite of apartments used probably as additional dormitories.

The cloister-court is about thirty-four feet square. It is surrounded on the east, south and west sides by ambulatories eleven feet six inches wide, enclosed towards the court by walls. In the east and south walls are plain, round-headed windows with stone seats in them. Along the north side of the court formerly ran a covered way now destroyed. Over the eastern ambulatory was the dormitory communicating with the choir by a flight of steps and by a circular stair with the cloisters. At the north end is a hagioscope by which the monks who, from illness, were unable to be present in the church could see and, to some extent, take part in the celebration of mass.

From the eastern ambulatory the chapter-house was entered. Octagonal in plan, it is probably the smallest chapter-house in Britain, being only 22 feet 8 inches across. The sedilia, in which sat the abbot, prior, and sub-prior, are opposite to the entrance, and round the rest of the room runs a stone bench for the ordinary members of the brotherhood. The central boss of the groined roof is the only piece of carving in the Abbey which has been preserved. Over the chapter-house was the muniment room.

The refectory occupied the upper storey on the southern side of the cloister-court, but owing to the alterations made in converting this portion of the buildings into a farm-house, it is now impossible to trace its dimensions and arrangements.

A ruinous block of buildings overhanging the beach, and adjoining the south-east corner of the cloisters, contained the kitchen, bake-house, and other necessary offices.

On the north side of the choir and transept are remains of other buildings of which it is impossible to conjecture the use.

About twenty yards from the S.W. termination of the cloister-court is the well of carefully-wrought masonry, and about fifty feet deep.

No remains exist of the statues and carved wood-work which formerly

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adorned the church, nor of the tombs of the numerous bishops and abbots who were interred within its walls——

After a careful inspection of the buildings of the Abbey, the Culdee cell, and the hog-backed stone supposed to be the monument of the Danish chieftain, the Society re-embarked and were conveyed to Aberdour. There, after luncheon in the Aberdour Hotel, a visit was paid to the ruins of Aberdour Castle, on which Mr. Dalrymple Duncan read the following short note:—

The lands of Aberdour, when we first hear of them, in historical times belonged to the Viponts, a family of Norman descent. They were a distinguished race. One of them, Sir William, fell at Bannockburn, and in later days, during the reign of David II., Sir Alan Vipont gallantly held Lochleven Castle against the English. These later members of the race were not, however, connected with Aberdour, which, by the marriage of Amica, daughter of Sir John Vipont, with Sir Alan de Mortimer, had passed into the hands of the latter family.

I have not been able to ascertain how or when the Mortimers lost the possession of Aberdour, but at the beginning of the fourteenth century it is found belonging to Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, the nephew of King Robert Bruce. This brave and chivalrous soldier, as all must remember, commanded the left wing of the Scots army at Bannockburn, and was Guardian of Scotland during the minority of David II. Dying in 1332, he was succeeded by his elder son, Thomas, second earl, who fell at the battle of Dupplin. John, the younger son, succeeded and became third earl. He conveyed Aberdour in 1351 to Sir William Douglas of Liddesdale, "the "Flower of Chivalry," by a grant from whom they became the possession of his nephew, Sir James Douglas, afterwards of Dalkeith. The latter was succeeded by his son James, who was created Earl of Morton on 14th March, 1457-8. On the execution of the Regent Morton, his estates (including Aberdour) were forfeited to the Crown and first bestowed on John, Lord Maxwell, but they were eventually given to Sir William Douglas of Lochleven, who became sixth earl of Morton. Aberdour has ever since continued in the possession of his descendants.

The castle buildings are of three periods:—(1) The keep standing on a

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height at the north-west corner. It was formerly supposed to be of great antiquity, but there seems to be no doubt that the opinion of Messrs. M'Gibbon and Ross that it was erected about the beginning of the fifteenth century is correct. On the first floor was the great hall, while below were vaulted cellars, and above were two stories with joisted floors. (2) An addition to the south-east, which, like the later addition, was purely domestic. It was built by the Regent Morton in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Aberdour was a favourite residence of the Regent who, after his resignation of his high office in 1578, retired there, and is said to have devoted himself, like a second Diocletian, to agriculture and gardening. This part of the building contains a vaulted kitchen with a huge fire-place. (3) A second addition still farther advanced to the south-east, which consists of a long narrow building, two stories in height, at the south-east corner of which is a square projecting wing. A gallery, 64 feet by 15 feet, occupies the upper floor of this portion of the edifice, which was erected about 1632 by William, ninth Earl of Morton.

In 1715 a troop of dragoons was quartered in the castle, and, by some carelessness on their part, an accidental fire took place, which resulted in the destruction of the greater part of the edifice. It was not rebuilt, and Cuttlehill House, on the west side of the Dour, became the Fifeshire residence of the Morton family, who changed its name to Aberdour House. A large part of the west wall of the keep fell in 1844.

In front of the castle is a double terrace, below which is a picturesque old pigeon-house.

The chapel of the castle is very interesting from an architectural point of view. It consists of a nave, chancel, and south aisle. The latter was added in the fifteenth century, but the other portions of the church date from the twelfth century, and are good specimens of Norman work.

Aberdour, according to Messrs. M'Gibbon and Ross, is one of the earliest specimens of a Scots *mansion-house*, as distinguished from earlier buildings, whose main purpose was defence, and which were therefore more or less fortified. ——

Entering carriages which had been provided, the members now drove to Donibristle, passing on the way the ruins of Dalgety Old Church, where the Rev. Mr. Craig read a short account of the edifice, viz.:—

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This place of worship occupies the site of the more ancient chapel, dedicated to St. Bridget, and was attached to the famous monastery of Inchcolm. The first mention made of Dalgety Church is in the chartulary of Inchcolm, where it is stated that Pope Alexander III., in 1178 confirmed to the monastery, "*ecclesiam de Dalgathin cum pertinentiis suis.*"

For the few authenticated particulars relating to this place of worship in pre-reformation times, I refer you to Dr. Ross's two interesting volumes. So far as I have ascertained, there are, in addition to the main building, only two remains, which might have been seen when this was a Roman Catholic chapel. (1) The mural monument near the east end of the north wall, of date 1540, to "ane Hon. man callit Wm. Abernethe." (2) The piscina, with a diagonal aperture.

Subsequent to the Reformation, this parish, with some four or five others, were put under the care of one minister, and in his absence was served by "ane Readare." At length, in 1644, it was erected into a separate parish and put under the pastoral care of the Rev. Andrew Donaldson.

To adapt the building for the services of the Presbyterian Church, many alterations were made. These changes must have altered and terribly disfigured the interior as an orderly place of worship.

The pulpit was put at the south-west corner of the north transept. This transept was then known as the Colliers' Gallery. The south transept was allotted to the family of Hendersons of Fordell. Of this family, I may mention, that the illustrious Alexander Henderson, the moderator of the Glasgow Assembly of 1638, was a scion. They must have used, I think, the gallery in front of the transept. A carved recess in the wall served as the Precentor's Box.

A flight of stairs was built at the east end gable; the window above the high altar was made into a door; and a gallery, for the Earl of Moray and his family, was thrown out, deeply overshadowing the low seats occupying the position of the ancient chancel.

A corresponding gallery was erected at the west end of the church, and belonged to the Earls of Dunfermline, who had their seat at Dalgety House, a little to the north of the church. The entrance is by a winding stair, leading into two rooms, handsomely built. It is conjectured—on what

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grounds I cannot say—that they were built by Chancellor Alexander Seton, first Earl of Dunfermline.

This remarkable man died at Pinkie House, near Musselburgh, and was buried in the vault which is beneath the floor of the larger room.

The new church of Dalgety was opened on 29th August, 1830.

There are no monuments in or outside the church of special interest. I have already spoken of the one to William Abernethe.

On the south wall is an ornamental stone commemorating, in a very curious Latin inscription, the superlative goodness and virtues of the Lady of Menstrie, who could not have been more than ten years old when she died.

It is to be regretted that the grave of the excellent Andrew Donaldson is unknown. He became minister of the parish in 1644, and because he would not conform to Episcopacy was "outed" in 1644. The Episcopal clergymen succeeded him, and, as the last, Mr. George Gray, would not conform to the Presbyterian order, he, in turn, was "outed," and old Mr. Donaldson was restored to his parish in 1688 and died 1695.

It is said that, through the kindness of his first Episcopal successor, Mr. John Corsar, Mr. Donaldson was allowed, for two years, to occupy the rooms at the west end of the church, being supplied with the necessaries of life by his attached parishioners.

Whilst acting as a humble imitator of the *im*mortal "Old Mortality," I was fortunate enough to find the tombstone of the kind-hearted Episcopal clergyman, Mr. John Corsar.

The late Dr. Marshall, Coupar-Angus, says:—"He who can, from any "favourable standpoint, look upon Aberdour and Dalgety without emotions "of delight and even rapture, must have in him a soul which the sight of "Eden itself would hardly have moved." ——

On arriving at Donibristle, the Rev. Mr. Craig read the following short note on its history:—

We hear of Donibristle for the first time in connection with the Scotch war of Independence. Three years after Bannockburn (*i.e.*, 1317), Edward II. of England sent a fleet which landed at Donibristle, did much damage on shore, and put to flight some 500 Scotchmen. As they were running away,

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panic-stricken, William Sinclair, bishop of Dunkeld, met them, and taunted them for their cowardice. "Out upon you, false knights," he said, "who "deserve to have your spurs struck from your heels." Seizing a soldier's spear, he shouted, "Turn, for shame, and let all who love Scotland follow me." This they did and soon routed the English from the possession of Donibristle. This valiant member of the church militant was known ever after as the "King's Bishop" or the "fechting Bishop."

Donibristle was long the property of the monastery of Inchcolm, and the residence of the Abbot.

At the Reformation, Lord Doune was made Commendator of these Church lands, and, as was usually the case, became their absolute owner.

James Stewart, the son of this Lord Doune, married Elizabeth, daughter of the Regent Moray, and there being no heirs-male, he obtained the title of Earl of Moray.

The Regent's son-in-law was the famous "Bonnie Earl of Moray," who was brutally murdered here on the 7th February, 1592.

The particulars, which are doubtless familiar to you all, are briefly these: Owing to some events which took place at Darnaway, Lord Moray's Castle in Morayshire, a feud had arisen between the Bonnie Earl and the Earl of Huntly. The desire for vengeance rankled in the mind of the latter nobleman, and, having on some pretext or other, obtained a commission from King James to bring Lord Moray a prisoner to Edinburgh, Huntly came to Donibristle with forty retainers and set fire to the mansion. The Bonnie Earl and Dunbar, sheriff of the county, were in the house, and naturally sought to escape from the burning building.

Then occurred one of the noblest and most disinterested acts of friendship on record. Dunbar proposed that he should first go out and face the enemy, and that they, believing him to be the victim they sought for, would attack and kill him, and that, in the confusion, the Bonnie Earl might escape to the shore and set out in a boat.

This strategem nearly succeeded. But the tassel of his lordship's helmet having caught fire, he was recognised by Gordon of Buckie, and struck down. Huntly then coming up, gave the wounded man a thrust in the face, whereupon the Bonnie Earl said to his enemy, "ye hae spoiled a brawer face than

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"yer ain." He was speedily killed outright, having been atrociously pierced with daggers.

I may here mention a traditional account of the events, without in any way vouching for its truth. It is said that the earl sought to escape through the underground passages which still exist; that he fled down the passage leading to the west wing, then along the one towards the east wing, to get out at the gate leading to the small pier; and that when in the passage between the two wings, he was recognised. Such is the tradition, but I cannot say whether or not these passages were then in existence.

Of course, you know the old ballad which attributes a motive for the crime to jealousy on the part of the king.

The subsequent and fruitless efforts of Lady Doune to obtain revenge and the condign punishment of the murderers, I need not relate. The banner she had painted, representing her murdered son, with all his ghastly wounds, is still kept in the charter-room of Donibristle.

The house was again accidentally burned in 1858. ——

By permission of the Earl of Moray, the members were allowed to examine the underground passages referred to by Mr. Craig. Much regret was expressed that a site of such historic interest and so much natural beauty should be only occupied by a blackened ruin, and the hope was expressed that at no distant date Donibristle would be rebuilt.

Returning to Aberdour, the Society dined in the hotel under the presidency of Mr. Dalrymple Duncan, Mr. W. G. Black being croupier, and thereafter returned to Glasgow.

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